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### THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

VOLUME LIV



## OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

#### VOLUME LIV

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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#### PREFACE

This volume offers the traditional mixture of literature and documents. Professor Maehler has prepared for publication an extensive but very fragmentary and tantalizing commentary on Anacreon (3722); we join with him in acknowledging the valuable preliminary work of Dr R. J. D. Carden. Mr Parsons is responsible for the remainder of the literary texts (3723–6). All these have elegiac connections; the most intriguing is the collection of epigram incipits festooning a recipe for cough mixture (3724). Professor J. M. Bremer of the University of Amsterdam has collaborated in the edition of 3723.

The documents (3727-76) have been selected and edited by Dr Coles to illustrate the work of the *curator* of Oxyrhynchus, from the new earliest reference to the post in AD 303 up to the early 340s. A list of the holders forms Appendix I. Various groups of price declarations submitted to his office give new information about the currency inflation of the early fourth century, see Appendix III. There is much of interest in the incidental detail, from high politics to daily routine: notice the consular vagaries of AD 325 (3756 26 n.), and the *curator*'s day off, changed by Constantine from pagan Thursday to Christian Sunday (3741 introd., 3759 introd. and 38 n.).

Dr Helen Cockle has compiled the usual indexes with more than usual speed and alertness. Dr Coles himself made Index XIII, Corrections to Published Papyri, an addition suggested to us by reviewers. The Oxford University Press continues to deserve our admiration and gratitude; the skills which it displays on our behalf are rare indeed.

March 1987

P. J. PARSONS J. R. REA General Editors Graeco-Roman Memoirs



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#### NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The method of publication follows that adopted in Part XLV. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of letters lost are printed slightly below the line. The texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the apparatus criticus where also faults of orthography, etc., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets \( \rangle \) a mistaken omission in the original, braces \( \} \) a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets \( \] a deletion, the signs \( \) an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. Lastly, heavy arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small roma numerals to columns.

The use of arrows  $(\rightarrow, \downarrow)$  to indicate the direction of the fibres in relation to the writing has been abandoned for reasons put forward by E. G. Turner, 'The Terms Recto and Verso' (Actes du XVe Congrès International de Papyrologie I: Papyrologica Bruxellensia 16 (1978) 64-5), except when they serve to distinguish the two sides of a page in a papyrus codex. In this volume most texts appear to accord with normal practice in being written parallel with the fibres on sheets of papyrus cut from the manufacturer's roll. Any departures from this practice which have been detected are described in the introductions to the relevant items.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (2nd edn., 1980). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

#### I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

#### 3722. Commentary on Anacreon

Inv. no. unrecorded

Fr. 15 12.5 × 12.8 cm

Second century

On the verso of a month-by-month account, written in a large upright hand of the late first or early second century AD, are the remains of a commentary on some of Anacreon's sympotic songs, written in a small practised bookhand with some cursive features, especially at line-ends, which slopes slightly to the right; it must have been written in the second century, perhaps in its second half rather than in the first. It is very similar to that of 2802, a commentary on Alcman.

Spaces between columns are narrow (little more than 1 cm in frr. 15, 16, 17, 25) but top and bottom margins are fairly generous (in fr. 29 there is a margin at the foot of the column of at least 3.5 cm). A rough breathing seems to occur only once (fr. 26. 4, combined with an accent?). There are few instances of elision marks, all of them, it seems, in quotations: frr. 1.5; 4.2; 5.3; 17 i 16, 18 (doubtful: 17 ii 16; 21 i 8; 56.9; 57.3). Punctuation is rare (frr. 3. 6; 83. 3). A dicolon is used to mark the end of the lemma (frr. 1. 27; 2. 9; 4. 1; 9. 6; 83. 3) and perhaps, more generally, to separate quotation and comment (frr. 15 i 1, 3, ii 10; 16 ii 6; 25 i 6, 7; 28. 3; 90. 9; 102. 7); sometimes a blank space is left to indicate this (frr. 1. 5, 25; 2. 1, 4; 3. 6; 5. 10; 17 ii 7). In fr. 25 col. ii, a number of lines have been marked by diplai, also fr. 51 ii 8 and fr. 54 ii 23. A reference-mark, possibly to an omitted line, occurs at fr. 51 ii 9-10, and a very puzzling sign is found at fr. 25 ii 17 (see n.). The scribe uses no abbreviations, except a raised horizontal for final  $\nu$ (frr. 1. 6; 2. 3; 17 i 2; 25 i 5; 87. 10); also  $\bar{\delta}$  for  $\delta\epsilon$  in fr. 16 i 6 and perhaps in fr. 73. 8 (unless there it is the numeral, see the note),  $\bar{\mu}$  for  $\mu \acute{\epsilon} \nu$  at fr. 15 ii 13 (?). Diaeresis occurs only once (υδα[ fr. 15 ii 9). The quotation in fr. 17 i 13-19 suggests an average of 27 or 28 letters to the line.

The attribution of the poetic text to Anacreon rests on the certain or probable occurrences of known lines. Certain quotations are: An. 38 Gentili  $(PMG\ 396) = \text{fr. } 15 \text{ ii}$  1 and An. 91  $(PMG\ 380) = \text{fr. } 29.$  2; probable: An. 135  $(PMG\ 454) = \text{fr. } 2.$  1; An. 114  $(PMG\ 403) = \text{fr. } 15 \text{ i } 3$ ; An. 117  $(PMG\ 377) = \text{fr. } 15 \text{ i } 5$ ; An. 8  $(PMG\ 372) = \text{fr. } 27.$  6a; possible: An. 35  $(PMG\ 400) = \text{fr. } 2.$  3; An. 47  $(PMG\ 401) = \text{fr. } 52.$  5. Fragments of Anacreon's poetry have been preserved in XXII 2321, 2322, LIII 3695.

Mention of the poet's name at fr. 1. 19, 15 i 18, 27. 7, 39. 4, and 73. 10 confirms the attribution, as does the content of most of the recognizable lemmata, which seem for the most part to be concerned with erotic and sympotic matters. Dialect and metre (ionics, choriambs, aeolic verses) point in the same direction. Unfortunately, the gain, as far as new lines or words of Anacreon are concerned, is very modest.

The fragments of this papyrus were assembled by Mr Edgar Lobel, who also made a

number of joins. They were subsequently transcribed by Mr Richard Carden. Between 1970 and 1976, Dr Walter Cockle revised and annotated Mr Carden's manuscript; he also transcribed the accounts on the recto. His suggestions are mentioned in the notes. Mrs Margaret Maehler has contributed a number of observations on the content, in particular on the quotations; the identification of fr. 17 i 13–19 as Hes. Th. 183 ff. is due to her. I am greatly indebted to all of them, especially to Mr Carden, whose accurate transcription of the text and meticulous descriptions of traces and uncertain letters have proved immensely helpful and have greatly facilitated my task. I have checked Mr Carden's readings and descriptions against the papyrus; the resulting changes have for the most part been insignificant, and I have therefore, as a rule, not recorded them as such.

In the diplomatic transcript which follows, I have marked the lemmata by the use of upright type.

fr. 1		$7.4 \times 18.6 \text{ cm}$	
		1.[	7 (
		], vv [ ' ]	] [
		] [ ]	3 [
		]ατουτωνεμφα[,,], ιτ.	7[
	5	]νδ'απεποιμηναβιον- οιον	)[
		$]$ $\epsilon$ ταφορααποτωνποιμνι $\bar{\omega}$	5[
		]νητοντωνχειρων[.]ωθ. αι	[
		], κρομεςτουδ. []εί []ς	[
		]. $\chi[]\epsilon\iota\lambda\eta\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ , [ ]. $\epsilon\rho$ , [	
	10	] $\pi$ αροιμιαν[ ].ω.[	

2 ]., overhang perhaps of c ... [, bit of an upright, then a short fairly upright trace intersected at top by a diagonal ascending from left 4 ] $a\tau$ , end of a stroke descending from the left; of  $\tau$ , only the right part of the crossbar and stalk can be seen: perhaps  $\chi$  At line-end a horizontal mark more resembling the tongue of  $\epsilon$  than the sign for  $\nu$  (cf. 1. 6); if  $\epsilon$ , it will have been raised above the level of the other letters 7  $\theta$ ., stroke leaning slightly to right, turning more sharply right at top, and apparently continuing round in a loop to rejoin the upright—though the length of this does not commend  $\rho$ ; then  $\alpha \mu$  or  $\delta \mu$ , and a diagonal mark well below the line 8 ].  $\kappa$ , horizontal mark on line touching back of  $\kappa$  I think  $\epsilon$  correct, though there is what seems like a diagonal running up from the end of the tongue of  $\epsilon$  through the left corner of the next letter, like a deletion  $\delta$ . [, speck touching top of  $\delta$ : apostrophe? Another trace at same level on the other side of a short break, and a faint trace below this:  $\epsilon$ ? 9 ].  $\chi$ , speck at mid-level [, a letter with rounded lower left corner ].  $\epsilon$ , short upright with speck to left of top 10 ... [, faint upright followed at a short interval by bit of diagonal ascending to right, at upper level:  $\kappa$ , or  $\nu$ ? Then lower half of another upright ].,  $\nu$ , or perhaps  $\tau$ ;  $\epsilon \iota$  possible but not much suggested

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The recto text, unfortunately, by its very nature does not help much to establish the order of the fragments, which remains quite uncertain, except where colour or fibre patterns suggest proximity.

```
], , [, ] \epsilon \nu \alpha [] \epsilon \kappa \mu [, , ] \rho \gamma \rho \nu . [] , \mu , \nu . [
            ]. \epsilon \pi o \eta \mu a[.]. \phi a \iota. [ ]. \phi...
           ]\gamma \epsilon \gamma o \nu \epsilon \nu a \iota [ ]\tau a \iota [ ]\tau a \iota [
           ]a\pi\epsilon\pi o\iota [ . . ] . [ . . ] \pi a\iota [ . . [] . [] .
              ], \eta, ... \nu[...]\epsilon\tauo\nu[]\pi.[].[
15
            ]νποαρ[, ]cτοφαν[, . . .]a[
                ]κλ\epsilon^{\alpha} , ντιφ\epsilonρ . . . [
              ], \epsilon \pi [, ] \chi \epsilon \iota \lambda \eta \delta o, \epsilon \iota, [, ], [
              ]ακρεωνεςτινγαρ ο[
               ]νρωνεπιχε[.]λη.ε[
20
            ]. , λκαιον δ. [....] επ[
              ]av\tau o \epsilon \pi i \chi \epsilon i \lambda \quad [] \epsilon \quad []
              ]ει ]ωνδ λοι χει ειι [
                 ]ονοτικαιτωκοριως π[
              ], αναναγεαι το τημ[
25
              ] ερωςκακετρυγης [
                το: [
                ] ιουςαπ[
                   ] [α] ουτο[
                     ]ηδια[
                           ]\tau[
```

11].., foot of upright below line, a speck higher and slightly to the right: v? Then 2 strokes one above the other, the lower more or less horizontal, upper ascending to right: o or top half of  $\epsilon$  would fit, or  $\delta$ ? mark like a tiny  $\epsilon = \nu$ , [, upright ],  $\mu$ , trace level with top of  $\mu = 12$  ],  $\epsilon$ , scattered traces including base of upright, on line u, [, foot of a stroke perhaps ascending slightly to right o...[, upright; top of a tall stroke, perhaps not quite upright; below this, 2 specks suggesting a diagonal ascending to right uprights followed by a small loop-this possibly to be connected with a dimly visible stroke below the line a little to the right, as  $\phi$ , though the loop would be larger than that of the specimens in ll. 4, 6  $\iota$ , [, perhaps top 14  $\iota$ , top of small circle 15 ]., base of upright  $\eta$ , lower half of of  $\zeta$ , then upright upright ]. [, in first space,  $\gamma$  or  $\tau$  16 Of  $\gamma$ , only a foot 17 Over  $\epsilon$ , what looks like an abnormally large rough breathing with a smaller one in its upper angle:  $\alpha$ ?  $\rho$ ..., possibly an upright, then apparently bits of 2 uprights: second trace not compatible with ζ (i.e. not αντιφεριζ-) 18 ι, [, I think, the beginning of a diagonal ascending to right, hooked at base ], [, left side of a small arch specks level with tops of letters:  $\tau$  might fit 23  $\epsilon \mu$ [, possibly a trace just to right of the top of this upright, which could suggest rather y than y; but it is very faint  $\delta$ , trace on line, worm-hole, trace level with tops of ,  $\chi$ , colon or small upright  $\epsilon_{\ell}$ , for  $\ell$ ,  $\gamma$  or  $\pi$  possible  $\ell$ . [, hook at mid-level 26 [, left side of small circle

<sup>4</sup> δι] à τούτων ἐμφαί[ν] ερ? For ἐμφαίνειν 'to indicate', cf. Schol. Pind. Ol. 7. 173a, Py. 1. 47b, etc.

<sup>5 ?</sup>τό]νδ' ἀπεποίμηνα βίον: double choriambs are frequent in Anacreon, e.g., An. 91 (PMG 380), 85 (PMG

381b), 109 (PMG 382), 110. 1 (PMG 383. 1), 82 (PMG 388), 108 (PMG 389), 107 (PMG 412). The verb, anotherive, is not attested elsewhere, but cf. Man., Apotel. 4. 419 Blov diamografivoutes. The metaphor is also discussed in fr. 28. 3 ff.

5-6 οΐον  $[\delta\iota\hat{\eta}\gamma$ ον·  $\hat{\eta}$   $\mu]\epsilon\tau a\phi$ . would fill the gap.

8], κρομές would be very puzzling – a Doric ending, 1st person plural? The alternative seems to be ἀκρομέςτου 'brim-full', not so far attested but a possible form, cf. ἀνάμεςτος, πάμμεςτος, ἡμίμεςτος. This would suggest a bowl or cup and might find support in χείλη in the next line, if χ can be read there; cf. Semon. 24 Diehl (27 West). At the end, ]ειλης (Carden) is unlikely as η cannot be read; ]ειαρ[ο]ς seems possible.

12 ] ε πεποημα[ could be An. 57 (99 D.) οἰνοπότης δὲ πεποίημαι.

14  $\pi \epsilon \pi o \iota \theta$ . [: ω[ possible,  $\theta$  almost certain.

- 16 ΰπὸ Ἀρ[ι] cτοφάν [ους]: An. 28 (PMG 408) shows that Aristophanes wrote a commentary on Anacreon (Cockle).
- 17 ]  $\kappa \lambda \epsilon^{\alpha}$ : if the raised letter was  $\alpha$ , it may suggest an abbreviation, possibly a name (Κλέαρχος?, see fr. 57. 4 n.), followed by a form of ἀντιφέρειν or ἀντιφέρειθαι.

 $6 \times 6.5$  cm

18-19  $\epsilon \pi[i]$  χείλη δοκε $\hat{i}$   $\hat{\lambda}[\epsilon \gamma \epsilon \iota \nu \ (?)$  ....  $\hat{o}$   $\hat{A}\nu]$  ακρέων. If so,  $\hat{\epsilon}\pi i$  χείλη could be part of a lemma, cf. l. 20.

19 έςτιν γάρ τὸ [ὅλον?

21 , λκαιογ: I cannot verify the letter preceding λ.

10

23  $\delta \eta \lambda o \hat{\imath} \chi \epsilon \hat{\imath} \psi \hat{\epsilon} \eta \hat{\iota}$  seems possible. 24  $\gamma \epsilon \gamma$   $[ov \delta \tau \iota, \delta \eta \lambda] ov \delta \tau \iota$ , or  $[ov \delta \tau \iota]$ ?

25 ], αν ἀνάγεαι: apparently part of a lemma; then: τὸ  $c\eta\mu$ [εῖον ὅτι . . .?

26 Έρως κακέ, τρυγης. [ οτ κάκ' έτρύγης $\epsilon$  (e.g., ἄνθη), cf. AP 12. 256 (Meleager).

fr. 2

3 ],, speck on line close to edge of  $\nu$   $\rho$  is very inflated: its appearance would be explained if the scribe first wrote  $\iota$ , then converted it by adding a curved right side of matching height  $4 \delta \iota$ , for  $\iota$  the last stroke is anomalous, bulging out to the right 5 ],, a squat trace on and below the line, with vertical extension, and suggestion of ink going left from centre; from upper end a stroke curves out to right, upwards, and then back on itself; I cannot explain these traces 6 ], trace level with tops of letters, top of an upright suggested 7 ], stroke descending vertically from upper level, then curving out to right, turning up just short of the line:  $\mu$ ? 8 ] $\tau$  $\iota$ , stroke running horizontally near the line, then ascending vertically 9 Deletion by horizontal line rather below mid-level, from  $\pi$  as far as the writing extends  $\tau$ ..., in first space, top and bottom of a tall upright; two indefinite traces at mid-level, then perhaps  $\tau$  to  $\phi$ . [, small circle, and possibly a tail-stroke below: either  $\sigma$  or  $\rho$  looks likely ]...[, tallish upright ( $\iota$ ?) with a stroke joining top diagonal from left; then the upper left part of a circle; then a trace above the general level

 $\epsilon \phi$ 

I-3 ] θεράπων ἔμηνεν is evidently lemma. The comment may have been something like ἔλ[εγεν ἐμμανῆ α]ὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ευμποείου [ἐπὶ τὸν Πυθόμ]ανδρον ἀπιόντα, οὖ νῦ(ν) κτλ; cf. An. 35 (PMG 400). (ἔλ|[εγε(ν) would be wrong word-division (but see on ll. 4–5, and on fr. 3. 5); to the right above  $\lambda$  the top layer of papyrus has broken away; if there was a raised  $\epsilon$  ( $\epsilon\lambda^{[\epsilon]} = ἔλε(γε)$ ?), it is lost). If this comes anywhere near the truth, the θεράπων who 'has driven mad' may be Eros (cf. Sappho 159 LP, where Aphrodite calls Eros her servant), unless it is a boy as in Theoc. 5. 90 f. = An. 135 (PMG 454) οἰνηρὸς θεράπων?

4 προπεςών: very probably lemma, but in what sense? Is it paraphrased by ἀπιόντα? Ll. 4-8 seem to

suggest that the verb may refer to someone suffering either from love or from drink.

4-5 ὁ μὲν δι[ (answered, it seems, by τὸ δέ in l. 6) may be part of a discussion (on the meaning of προπετών?) involving Didymus, who may have said that the word refers to erotic passion  $(\epsilon n \hbar [\pi \alpha \theta \eta \mu \acute{\alpha} \tau \omega \nu \tau \mathring{\omega}] v$  ερωτικῶν would fill the gap), whereas the author of this commentary thinks that a quotation from Menander (τὸ δὲ Μεν|[άνδρειον, with wrong word-division? or μέν|[τοι?) suggests drunkenness (μεθυτθείς, l. 8). If this is right, Didymus is not the author of this commentary. Didymus is not the only scholar's name which could be supplied, but he is the only one known to have written on Anacreon (cf. Sen. Ερ. 88. 37; M. Schmidt, Didymi . . . fragmenta, p. 384) that will fit.

7 τὸ] μὲν γὰρ οίδα καὶ  $\lambda$ { $\epsilon$ } ίαν (cf. βέλτειον l. 5) could be part of an iambic trimeter; for καὶ λίαν, cf. Men. fr.

758. The quotation seems to recur below in fr. 6. 6.

9 ] νδρου: the dicolon suggests that this may be part of the lemma; if An. 35 (PMG 400), quoted above, is relevant to this passage,  $\Pi \nu \theta o \mu \dot{\alpha}$ ] νδρου may be worth considering.

The short gap which appears repeatedly on the right-hand side would suggest that these were the ends of lines, if it were not clear from ll. 5, 7 that this cannot be the case; the surface does not seem to have been removed here; therefore the scribe for some reason jumped a strip 1 First trace, speck on line; second, stroke slanting slightly to right, joined by one from right at base 2 Between  $\kappa a$ 1 and  $\delta$ 2 a short thick upright or narrow circle which may be a suprascript o 2 Above final  $\epsilon$ 3, attached to top of it, a dim upright hooked to right at top: offset? 3 The suprascript  $\theta$ 4 has a thick diagonal line through lower half 4 Of ] $\rho$ 6 only the loop is visible,  $\rho$ 6 possible After final  $\rho$ 6, a dull dot on line, perhaps not significant 6 Second  $\rho$ 8 seems to have been deleted by a slanting line through middle  $\rho$ 9,  $\rho$ 9 small, and attached to the end of the cross-piece of  $\rho$ 9 apparently written over  $\rho$ 9 and  $\rho$ 9  $\rho$ 9, only upper half of this stroke survives:  $\rho$ 9 also possible  $\rho$ 9 apparently written over  $\rho$ 9 and  $\rho$ 9 and  $\rho$ 9 apparently written over  $\rho$ 9 and  $\rho$ 9 and  $\rho$ 9 apparently written over  $\rho$ 9 and  $\rho$ 9 apparently written over  $\rho$ 9 apparently w

2  $\tau \epsilon[]\epsilon$ : there is space for one narrow letter (not  $\mu$ ).  $\delta \tau \epsilon[\delta] \epsilon$  seems possible.

3 Lemma:  $\tilde{\epsilon}$ ]  $\theta \hat{\epsilon} \lambda \omega \nu \tilde{\alpha} \rho \theta \mu \iota o \epsilon \epsilon \tilde{t} \nu | [a \iota ?, \text{cf. Thgn. } 1312. (\epsilon \tilde{t} \nu | [\epsilon o \iota \epsilon \iota \nu \text{ would conform to Anacreontic metre, but}]$ the word-division would be awkward.)

4 The γάρ needs a short remark, e.g. ἄτοπον· οὐκ ἀπή]ρτιςται γὰρ ἡ διάνοια|[πρὸς τὰ ἐπόμενα vel sim.

5 μ] έμφεαι is obviously lemma, then perhaps περὶ οὖ μέμφ|[εται ἄδηλον (for another possible case of wrong

syllabification, see fr. 2. 4-5 n.).

6-7 ]  $ac\tau a \tau \dot{\nu} \rho a \nu \nu a$ : if  $\tau \dot{\nu} \rho a \nu \nu a$  (n. plur.) paraphrases the preceding word, this cannot have been  $\delta \nu \nu$ ]  $ac\tau a$  (voc.); possibly  $ad\tau a$  'unapproachable' (Simon. 29 B.?), or  $\beta \iota$ ]  $ac\tau a$  'violent', if the scholion continued with something like ὁ λόγο[ς δὲ νοεῖ καὶ ἄ]νομα. (Dr Leofranc Holford-Strevens suspects a scribal error for τύραννε.)

8  $\gamma \pi \nu \nu \theta a \nu o \ldots := \epsilon \kappa \pi \nu \nu \theta ?$ 

fr. 4

 $3.6 \times 6.2$  cm

], ταδ'αφεντε...[  $]\psi\epsilon\iota\epsilon\alpha\phi\epsilon\nu\tau[$ ] ς εφεαρετη[ ]ετιος ητοι [ 5 ] εικελιανα τ[ ]ους[..]....[ ]κι...[ μa ]αςεως[ 10

1], part of crossbar, with suggestion of vertical descending from left end 2], trace level with top of  $\tau$ ; branch of v slightly suggested  $\cdot$ , [, top of a stroke slanting a little forward to right, descending from tongue of  $\epsilon$ ; then, after a short space, apex of triangle 4  $\omega c$  corrected from  $\iota c$ ? 5 , [, traces suggest  $\pi$ , set rather low and with a speck above it, unaccounted for 6], speck at mid level, close to back of c a, speck at mid-level 7 ], ..., upper half of stroke leaning slightly to right, with traces of ink to right at top and middle; top of diagonal descending to left; upper half of a more curved stroke, perhaps the left arc of a circle, then 2 specks above the general level . . [, diagonal ascending to right, then dispersed traces at mid-9 for μα perhaps ψ α

2~3 ταδ' αφεντες. [ may be part of a lemma, paraphrased in the next line (e.g., τὰς τέρ]ψεις ἀφέντες).

6 ]. Cικελίαν: so far, the only reference to Sicily in Anacreon is 31 (PMG 415).

fr. 5

3.2 × 6.4 cm
. . . .
], αλ, [
] εδεαντι[
] υαρμ' ελαα [
] οὐςιουςας [
] ις επιτον [
] ις και μαλ [
] ακαι βακ [
] αρμαςιν [
] αρμαςιν [
] ων [
] ν [

I ], stroke running along line, then ascending to right diagonally, finally horizontal:  $\theta$  with crossbar extended beyond the body of the letter? [, upright slanting slightly to right, followed by lower half of a second upright (the upper half dim, but suggested) on the break; to left of middle of the first appears to be a short horizontal; between the 2 uprights is a suggestion of this continuing: possibilities seem to be  $\psi$ . [, or  $\eta$ [, of which I slightly favour the former 3  $\alpha$  [, more rounded than the preceding specimen—open at top; or  $\omega$  with right-hand bow higher than left, and the right-hand side of it now lost 5 ], 2 arcs of a small circle, o most suggested, possibly  $\alpha$  9  $\rho$ , the tail has disappeared except, I think, for a faint speck, the foot

3 ]υ ἄρμ' ἐλάᾳ: lemma, cf. Il. 23. 335 ἐλάαν εχεδὸν ἄρμα καὶ ἵππουε.
 7 8 καθ]ὰ καὶ Βακ[χυλίδης· Διὸς ὑψιμέδο]γτος παρθέ[νοι (Bacch. 1. 2)?

5

10 ]χαιτης: possibly part of a compound (ὑψιχαίτης and χρυςοχαίτης appear in Pindar), and a lemma or quotation.

fr. 6

4 × 5.7 cm
. . . .
]..[.].το[
]απελλ.υμε[
]δρανφηςι.[
].νοςαντι[
].νθρην[

I ],  $\tau$ , upright with the suggestion of ink to the left half-way down:  $\eta$ ? 2 ]a, or  $\lambda$ ?  $\pi \epsilon$ , for  $\epsilon$  possibly  $\alpha$   $\lambda$ , base of a small circle, apparently with a bit of ink descending to line from lower right, upsetting the possibility of o 4 ], a tail descending below the line, with suggestion of a fork at the top 5 ], top half of a diagonal ascending to right, hooked to right at lower end:  $\epsilon$  might fit

], ρ[]οιδακ[ ] αθ[] ειργμ[ ], α[,] γελλ[ ], [,],...δ[ ]...ρ[

6 ]., top of upright ascending above the line, close to  $\rho$  8 ]., apparently top of a diagonal from left 9-10 Very rubbed, and I can make little of the traces; the second letter before  $\delta$  is possibly v; and possibly this, the next letter, and  $\delta$  are all deleted by a horizontal line 10 ]...,  $\lambda$ ? Then upper half of a stroke leaning over to right, at top, where it is joined by an upright  $\rho$ , trace at mid-level slanting down to left

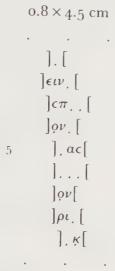
2 If ] $\alpha \pi \epsilon \lambda \lambda \rho v$ , An. 188 (PMG 957) may be relevant here, possibly also fr. 86. 2 below (] $\epsilon \lambda \lambda \eta \epsilon \iota a \iota$ , [);  $\lambda \pi \epsilon \lambda \lambda \delta v$  would then be part of the paraphrase (in Anacreon, the genitive would have been  $\lambda \pi \epsilon \lambda \lambda \delta v$ ). Alternatively, one might think of  $\pi \epsilon \lambda \lambda \delta v$  α diverpoor in Hsch. α 5949.

6 Perhaps the same line as in fr. 2. 7 above.
7 κ]αθ' εἰργμ[όν?, cf. An. 65 (PMG 346 fr. 4. 5).

fr. 7

I .[, little hook open to right at upper level 2]., foot of stroke curled back to left at bottom .[, trace on line 8 after  $\kappa a_{\ell}$ , specks on line; above this, smudgy trace on a displaced scrap 9].., upper half of a very small circle, on the line; then  $\gamma$ , or more likely  $\epsilon$  . apparently a stroke descends from tongue of  $\epsilon$ —this will be  $\iota$ ; then either a short space or the surface has been stripped ...[, traces obscured by a blot: first letter includes a loop, perhaps o or  $\alpha$ ; second apparently a V, i.e. cursive  $\nu$ ? 10]., trace at mid-level

fr. 8



The Foot of upright, perhaps below the line 2, [, speck at mid-level 3... [, I think, bow of  $\alpha$ ; then possibly o, or  $\rho$ : traces on fibres which may be displaced 4. [, fairly upright stroke, perhaps with tops visible: first the top of an upright, followed shortly by that of a diagonal from the left, perhaps  $\kappa$  8. [, a loop suggesting rather left side of  $\omega$  than  $\alpha$  9.]., I think part of an upright, and a speck just to left of its lower end

fr. 9

4.5 × 4.2 cm

[ ] [
] [
] [
] [, ρ[.]., δ[..] ερθ[
], ηθετητε ογαρ[
]...[], ιν.[..] ερ[
]...[], ρι[..]. ταρ...[
]...μολε.[
]αγου: ητ.ε.[
].[

The piece is very worm-eaten, and the surface in part badly rubbed: tentative version 1],  $\rho$ , mark at mid-level ]..., top right of a (small?) circle; a mark suggesting overhang of  $\epsilon$ , and below it a trace on the line 2  $\rho$ [ or  $\mu$ [ 3]. $\nu$ [, specks level with tops of letters 4  $\rho$ ., perhaps  $\nu$  6  $\epsilon$ [, upright apparently turning over to right at top

2]..., apparently a small circle joined at top left by a horizontal — To the right, end of another horizontal at upper level

fr. 12

1.5 × 2 cm

fr. 13

1.4 × 1.2 cm

.

]υς, [
]θουςγυ, [
]ενδ, [
] [
]τουψ[

- I .[, in ligature with top end of c, a stroke descends vertically to mid-level, then turns sharply right and slightly upwards 2 .[, lower left of a circle (or rounded bow of  $\alpha$ ?) off the line
- I . [ trace ascending from left 2 Upper half of an upright

The piece is very tattered and rubbed I Foot of upright, below the line 2...[, perhaps  $\epsilon_i$ , or  $\eta$ ? ]...., speck on the line, foot of upright and a trace a little to the right at mid-level, then possibly a low-set  $\tau$ , with some ink (from the next letter?) at the right end of the crossbar To the right of ll. 2-5, what resemble remains of a coronis in the left margin of the following column

```
] ψτ[ ] ψθψαψ... ην. [
] ψ... λλατοψ.ρ.α. [
] φψ[.] εμ... τριτο[
] ε... []. οψ[.] δψετρ. [
100
]. [.]. [η] κψ.ροχε. [
]. [.] ε. [
```

6  $\nu$ ., apex, of a triangle? bit of a diagonal ascending to right [, I think, left side of  $\omega$  7  $\nu$ ., 2 traces on the line  $\rho$ , traces each side of  $\rho$  suggest  $\alpha$  [, speck on line 8  $\nu$ ., 2 or 3 letters: the second, 3 specks one above the other, looks like  $\epsilon$  or  $\theta$  9].  $\rho$ , foot of a diagonal descending from left [, foot of diagonal ascending to right 10a  $\nu$ . [, possibly  $\eta$  10  $\epsilon$ . [, apex of a triangle II . [, top of a diagonal descending to the right

9 δυςτρα[: a form of δυςτράπελος 'difficult to deal with'?

10 κυπρογεν[: a form of Κυπρογενής, cf. PMG 949; Alc. 296b. 1; Stesich., Suppl. lyr. gr. 104. 6; Sol. 24.1 G. (26. 1 W.); frequent in Theognis.

fr. 15  $12.5 \times 12.8 \text{ cm}$ 

5

col. i col. ii top of col. top of col. ]. [.].  $c:\pi\epsilon\tau^{\alpha}$ φερ'υδωρφερ οιγ τηκεαμο κτικονδηλοι[]και[ ]τος:αςημω αγεπαραλαμβανο[  $\pi\omega^{\tau}\phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\epsilon\pi\eta\nu\epsilon\gamma\kappa[$ ]χειμαζομαι ]ρονδεμυςι το αγεειρητοτοδιε[ ιοχευο οτιπροτερον [] ενχει [ ]τονειπεν πρωτονν νμεν [ ] νδειππο τονοιν νκαιη[ ] πουςποι λεγωντρεις υδα[

Col. i. 1 ]. [, more or less horizontal stroke on line, slanting slightly up to right ]., trace at upper level with vertical extension; below and right, speck on line After  $\tau$  apparently  $\lambda$  (or  $\alpha$ ?) written off the line—though the top stroke seems to be in a different ink 7 ] $\tau$ , or  $\gamma$  8 ]., top of an upright 9 ]., foot

Col. ii. 5 o., some smudging and tearing: the letter seems to have a diagonal right side, slanting up to right: cursive upsilon suggested  $6 \epsilon \gamma \chi$ , surface darkened, ink smudged, only to be deciphered uncertainly  $7 \nu_{\nu} \nu$ , smudge in bottom left of space, speck above and right: if o, exceptionally bulky  $\mu$ , some extraneous ink suggests that  $\mu$  has been made by correction of another letter [, a crossbar on the break:  $\gamma$ [?

```
\omega v \gamma \epsilon v
                                                                     olvou: \mu \in \theta v
10
                                                                     ..[]τοκατακοι.[.].[.]ε...[
                                                                     c\omega[\phi\rho\sigma\nu\iota c\theta ai[
                         ]\delta\eta\nu\chi[],[]c
        ] v[\ldots] \epsilon\iota\epsilon\alpha\nu\tau [] \alpha
                                                                     \tau[]ντοδεο\bar{\mu} [] \thetaαν [
         ] .[...].[]α εςτιν μεν
                                                                     ναχεινως κομενών το
            ρτιεκτουεναντιου
                                                                     \epsilon\theta\alpha\iota\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\gamma\alpha\rho\rho\iota\alpha\lambda\lambda[\ ] \alpha\nu\theta[
15
            ]\eta v \in []v[] \quad \alpha \lambda \iota \phi \eta v \in \kappa \pi \lambda \eta
                                                                     cιναυτωςδεφηςιδοκε [
             ]ιει β[ ]υ[]λευτεςυβωτα
                                                                     εικοτως επηνεγ ο
            ]...[ ]\alpha\mu\omegao\alpha\nu\alpha\kappa\rho\epsilon[
                                                                     ]φοποιωκαιμετε [
                                γο[ ] τουτοδι[
                                          \tau \in v[
20
```

Col. i. 10 ], trace below tops of letters, loop of  $\rho$  would fit  $\gamma$ , short upright on line, then one descending below the line and flourished to right—a cursive  $\epsilon$ ?

12 Over  $\nu$ , what seems to be  $\omega$ , but faint ], [, upper half of upright hooked to right at top 13 ]..., first, speck rather below line, second, horizontal stroke at mid-level  $\tau$ ..., speck level with top of  $\tau$ , speck in next space slightly lower ],  $\alpha$ , to right of space, the top of, apparently, a diagonal from left 14...[, on line, hook open upwards and to right; above and right, a bit of a stroke slanting down to right (or upper right part of circle) Apparently nothing between  $\alpha$  and  $\epsilon$ , though possibly surface lost: the gap is rather longer than normal between words 16 ff. left ends of these lines (on a detached fragment) very rubbed

Col. ii. 10 ]. [, two traces close together level with tops of letters, perhaps o; probably no letter lost between preceding v and this ]....[, lower half of upright, base of a or perhaps  $\lambda$ , lower part of a stroke slightly leaning to right, speck off the line, base of a stroke tailing off to left II...[, stroke rising at a shallow angle from line to right; above right end of this a vertical trace; then top of upright  $\kappa_0$ , a dot under o, presumably not significant e..., in second space what looks like right half of a squarely made  $\eta$ ; then a large bow open to right: perhaps  $\delta$  I2. [, diagonal descending from left, turning back to left at mid-level:  $\delta$  suggested I4 o[ or  $\omega$  I5]., a bit, it seems, of an upright (fibre may be displaced) I7. [, upright (the mark as of a stroke ascending to right from centre of this is not ink; but  $\kappa$  might still be read; the upright is on the break) ]., horizontal stroke level with tops of letters [, upper half of diagonal ascending to right, turning over at top (though this is on the break and perhaps illusory)

Col. i. 1  $\pi \epsilon \tau^a$ : the raised a suggests abbreviation;  $\pi \epsilon \tau a(\lambda a)$  (of a victor's wreath?) seems a possibility, as a reference to mules follows in l. 5 below.

2 ] τηκεα μο or ] τηκε ἄμ' ο? The former might be  $\lambda \epsilon \pi$ ] τήκεα 'fine-pointed', cf. Hsch.  $\lambda$  676  $\lambda \epsilon \pi \tau \eta \kappa \epsilon \alpha \cdot \lambda \epsilon \pi \tau \eta \epsilon$  έργαείας ποιηθέντα (of thin gold leaves?).

3-4 An. 114 (PMG 403) ἀςήμων ὑπὲρ ἑρμάτων φορεῦμαι (φορέομαι Page); χειμάζομαι might then be paraphrase.

5 Apparently = An. 117 (PMG 377) ἱπποθόρον (-θόρων Bergk) δὲ Μυςοὶ εὖρεῖν (εὖρον Bergk) μῖξιν ὅνων. If so, μυτι may be a slip (read Μυς $\langle o \rangle$ ί). Bergk's conjecture ἱπποθόρων could well be an ancient variant, as Hsch. ι 828 suggests (ἱπποθόρος ὄνος ἵππους βιβάζων).

6 If the lemma ended with ὅνων, the commentator may have said something like, e.g., αὶ γὰρ ἵππο]ι ὀχευό[μεναι ὑπ' ὄνων ἡμιόνους ἔτικ]τον.

8-9 την μίξ] μ δε ίππο [θόρον λέγει ὅτι ἐγκύους τὰς ἔ] ππους ποι [εί?

12  $\gamma[\epsilon]\gamma[o]c$  or  $\gamma[\delta]\gamma[o]c$  seem possible  $(\gamma[\epsilon]\gamma[v]c$  less likely, as a trace of v would be visible).

16 Perhaps κατ' ἀποκοπ] ὴν ἢ  $\varsigma[v]$  γαλιφήν, such as at An. 86 (PMG 385) ἐκ ποταμοῦ ἀπανέρχομαι, cf. An. 36. 12 (PMG 395) and 188 (PMG 957).

17 Lemma: βουλευτὲ cυβωτα (obviously coined after Ευμαιε cυβωτα, Od. 14. 55 etc.); for βουλευτός = βουλευτής, one might compare Hsch. β 928; Latte, however, warns: a grammaticis ex αβουλευτος ficta v. Arcad. 84, 5.

18-19 ἐν ] άμω ὁ Ανακρέ[ων?

Col. ii. 1-5 φέρ' ὕδωρ φέρ' οἶν [ον ὧ παἷ = An. 38 (PMG 396), almost certainly the opening verse of a song; is this the poem commented on, or is it being quoted in connection with fr. 33 (PMG 356) ἄγε δή, φέρ' ἡμὶν ὧ παἷ κτλ.)? And is φέρε an imperative, followed by another imperative (ἔνεικον), or is it, like ἄγε in An. 33, an ἐπίρρημα παρακελευτικόν (cf. DT 19, i 82. I Uhlig)? The choice seems to be between (a) ὅτι προστα]|κτικὸν (sc. τὸ φέρε) δηλοἷ καὶ [τὸ ἄγε δή, φέρ' ἡμίν, ἐν ῷ τὸ] | ἄγε παραλαμβάνω[ν καὶ ἐπιρρηματικῶς εἰ]|πὼν ϒ(ὸ) ΄φέρε ἐπήνεγκ[εν' ἢ ἐνταῦθα (sc. in fr. 38) ἀντὶ] | τοῦ ἄγε εἴρητο, or (b) οἶν[ον' ὅτι φέρε οὐ προστα]|κτικόν, δηλοἷ καὶ [ἄλλη ἀδή, ἐν ἢ τὸ] | ἄγε παραλαμβάνω[ν κτλ. . . . ἐπήνεγκ[εν' ἐκεἷ γὰρ ἀντὶ] | τοῦ ἄγε εἴρητο (sc. τὸ φέρε). Cf. Schol. Ar. Nub. 218 τημαίνει πλείονα τὸ φέρε· νῦν μὲν οὖν τὸ ἄγε δηλοἷ.

5-6 πρῶτον εἶπε (vel sim.) ] ὅτι πρότερον ἐνχεῖ[ν ὕδωρ εἰώθαςι or something similar, cf. Athen. 11. 782 a ἔθος ἡν πρότερον ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ ὕδωρ ἐμβάλλεςθαι, μεθ' ὁ τὸν οἶνον. Athenaeus quotes An. 38 (PMG 396) and Hes. Op.

595-6 (see below, ll. 8-10).

7–10 πρῶτον ν. ν: not νῦν, hardly νιν, but what else? Then, μèν χ[àρ seems possible; perhaps μèν χ[àρ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐνέχεον, μεθ' ὅ] τὸν οἶνον καὶ Ἡ[είοδος ευναινεῖ δεῖν] λέγων Ἡρεῖς ὕδα[τος προχέειν τὸ δὲ τέτρατον ἱέμεν] οἴνου (Ορ. 596): the quotation would make the line too long, but it may have been shortened. See also fr. 88. 3–4.

10-12 There seems to be a contrast here between drunkenness ( $\mu\epsilon\theta\nu$ [) and having learnt self-control ([ $\epsilon\epsilon$ ] $\epsilon\omega\phi\rho\rho\nu\dot{\iota}\epsilon\theta a\iota$ ); in 11,  $\dot{\phi}$ ς τὸ κατακοιμ[ $\hat{a}\epsilon\theta a\iota$ ?

13 τοδεο $\bar{\mu}$ : τόδε·  $\delta$   $\mu$ ( $\epsilon \nu$ ), or τὸ δεό $\mu$ ( $\epsilon \nu$ ο $\nu$ )? As  $\mu$ ( $\epsilon \nu$ ) is usually  $\mu$ , the latter seems more likely; cf., however,  $\bar{\delta} = \delta \epsilon$  in fr. 16 i 6.

Ι4 ά] ναγεινως κομένων τώ[ν?

15 [ εεεωφρονί] εθαι again? Then, ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθ[ρωποι?

16 αὐτὸς or αὕτως? δοκέω[ seems possible (if αὐτός can be read, δοκέω[ may be lemma).

17 ]  $[0, [:] ] \uparrow \emptyset$   $\delta[\epsilon]$  seems possible; if right, it may have introduced another lemma.

18 μέτει μι οτ μετέρ χομαι?

Col. i. 1], foot of upright 2  $\alpha$ , beginning of diagonal ascending to right from rather below the line Above and to right of  $\pi \alpha$ , smudges of ink, offset from another sheet? 3], I think overhang of  $\alpha$  5 The final letter apparently iota deleted by 2 horizontal strokes flourished out to the right

Col. ii. 1 ]. [, base of upright descending below the line ].  $\tau$ , the three points of a triangle,  $\lambda$  or a suggested 2 . [, hook on or below line, open upwards and to right, suggesting a or  $\omega$   $\tau$ , might be read as  $\iota\tau$ , perhaps better; then speck on line; then traces resembling left side of  $\mu$  3 Two specks of ink in the left margin against this line are perhaps accidental  $\iota$ ,  $\iota$ , probably back of a

```
] ευθενδ
                                                            \frac{\underline{\theta\epsilon}\omega:\epsilon\nu\kappa\epsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda[}{\nu\eta\phiορονινα[.].[
          ] θελεινω
          ], γμοινο
                                                            υποτηςαφροδειτη[
           ]ιδαςνυμ
                                                            γελωτο[] ςκαιπαιδ[
        ], αιηδεως
                                                           κετοχαριενδ. ω ι[..].[
                                                           ειματα
          | ευπομε
                                                            φιλος πυλακρατεςθ[
          ]ςωδεμι
                                                           εινεφηπωεγαρ[
15
                                                           βρανχιδάς ιερ[
                                                    15
         €ιταιοπα
                                                           τεληςφη ινε[
                                                           τα απολλωνος μ[
                                                           \pi \tau o, []\mu[], \kappa[
         λονκαι
                                                           \omega c \alpha \pi o [\ldots] c [
         CTIV
20
                                                           \tau o v \tau \epsilon
         ] [] \epsilon \mu \nu \epsilon
                                                          \theta \circ \nu
                                                          Jul
             υδρη
            ].a.[.].[
25
```

Col. i. 7 ] $\lambda$ , equally  $\alpha$  8 ]., stroke descending from level with tops of letters, curving down and out to left 14 ] $\epsilon$ , 0 might be read: if so its right side has entirely disappeared 17 ff. perhaps only 1 line clear 21 ]. [, small v-shaped mark level with tops of letters Above and to left of  $\epsilon$ , trace like a small 'short' mark 22 ff. again perhaps only 1 line clear 25 ]., stroke slanting at a shallow angle up to right from mid-level  $\hat{\epsilon}$ , lower half of an upright ]. [, junction of a diagonal descending from left end and an upright, perhaps belonging to separate letters

Col. ii. 7 ]. [, a small circle, cut off at bottom: 0, or perhaps  $\rho$ ; in the left margin between this and the next line apparently a diple obelismene, though not the same as that between ll. 11 and 12, nor in the normal position 10  $\delta$ ., after  $\delta$ , at a short interval, mark like a small apostrophe ]. [, foot of upright 12  $\nu$ ..., surface damaged: in left of first space middle part of a fairly upright stroke, above and right a stroke angled to right:  $\epsilon$  would fit these traces; then a longish upright with suggestion of ink to right and left at top; just to right of this, a trace on line, perhaps accidental  $\nu$ [, I should say  $\nu$  rather than  $\nu$ . [, though the two strokes do not quite meet at the apex 13  $\epsilon$ ., stroke beginning as a horizontal at mid-level, then hooked up at right end: right-hand half of a small  $\omega$ ? 16  $\epsilon$ ., a tiny horizontal trace level with tops of letters, which would fit as overhang of  $\epsilon$  18  $\epsilon$ ., at first sight  $\mu$ , but the curved middle stroke joins the second vertical near the bottom, not at the top, so that  $\nu$  seems a possibility  $\epsilon$ . [,  $\pi$  or  $\nu$ ]., trace of ascending diagonal joined to top of vertical 20  $\epsilon$ . [, diagonal ascending to the right, curved over and down at top, a thick black stroke; if  $\alpha$  is intended, it will have been larger than the normal 21  $\epsilon$ . [, upright

```
Col. i
```

 $3 \hat{a} \in \theta \in \nu \hat{\eta}$ ?

5  $a\vec{v}$ ] $\tau\hat{\eta}$   $\phi a\iota \llbracket \iota \rrbracket | [\nu-?]$ 

6  $\epsilon \nu ] \tau \epsilon \hat{v} \theta \epsilon \nu \delta(\epsilon)$ ? Cf.  $\tilde{\mu}$  in fr. 15 ii 13 above.

 $7 \hat{\eta} ] \lambda \theta^* \hat{\epsilon} \lambda \epsilon \hat{i} \gamma \omega$ : quotation?

8 c]ψν μουνο- or ν]ψν μοι νο-? In either case, this may be a lemma or a quotation.

9-10 Perhaps τὰς κυανωπ]ίδας νύμ[φας, cf. An. 14 (PMG 357) (Cockle).

10 ]καὶ ἡδέως may paraphrase εὐμενής in An. 14. 6 (PMG 357. 6).

II If είματα, it might be part of a quotation from Homer.

16 δ]είται ό πα-?

21 ]  $\epsilon \mu \nu \epsilon$  [ might be  $\mu$ ]  $\epsilon \mu \nu \epsilon$  [0 or  $\tau$ ]  $\epsilon \mu \nu \epsilon$  [  $\tau \alpha \iota$ .

24 ]  $\tilde{v}\delta\rho\eta$  or -o]v  $\delta\rho\eta$ ? In either case, this is likely to be a lemma or a quotation.

#### Col. ii

4-5  $\pi\epsilon$ ]ποιῆ $\epsilon\theta$ αι τὸ ὅνο[μα?

6 έγκεκαλ[υμμένος? Cf. Thgn. 1045 (for ένκ-, cf. Βρανχίδας l. 15 below).

7 ετεφα]νηφόρον, δαφ]νηφόρον or the like.

8-9 μετὰ] γέλωτος καὶ παιδ[ιᾶς, cf. Χ. Cyr. 2. 3. 18.

9-10 εἴρη]  $\kappa$ ε τὸ ''χαρίεν δ'  $\mathring{\omega}$  . [? χαρίεν κτλ. seems to be part of a quotation, cf. An. 23 (PMG 402).

12  $(\hat{v} \mu \hat{\epsilon} \nu \hat{\epsilon} \chi (\text{or } \epsilon \nu) \pi \hat{v} \rho \gamma \sigma v \kappa \lambda \epsilon \epsilon \nu [\nu \sigma \hat{v}]$ : obviously the opening verse of a new poem, after the coronis.

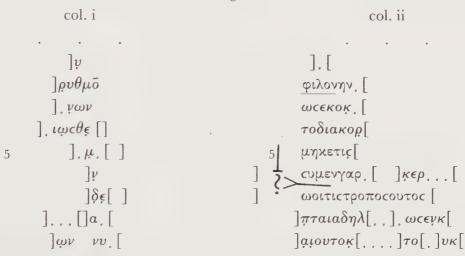
13 Πυλάκρατες: the name is not attested in Pape-Benseler. A pun on Πολύκρατες?

15-17 Βρανχίδας ἰερ[έας τοῦ Απόλλωνος? An. 53 (PMG 426) also refers to Milesians, but is an iambic trimeter. The reference to Aristotle ([Άριςτο]τέλης) may be to the same passage as that in Athen. 12. 523f. (Arist. fr. 557 Rose), i.e. to the story of Polycrates consulting the oracle of Apollo about whether or not to enter into an alliance with the Milesians (Schol. Ar. Plut. 999; Diod. 10. 25, 2).

17 τὰ Απόλλωνος μ[αντεύματα?

fr. 17

 $8 \times 9 \text{ cm}$ 



Col. i. I If upsilon, cursive form 3 ], two specks on or just below line 4 ], speck on line 5 ], top of upright [, hook on line, and a speck above: perhaps  $\alpha$  7 ] $\delta \epsilon$ [, a small apex, then left side (shallow curve) of a circle 9  $\omega$  irregular: either the left half was made separately, or it represents another letter (which might be  $\epsilon$ )

Col. ii. 2  $\nu$ . [, after  $\nu$  what looks like a high point, then a little to the right a dot just below the line 3. [, speck level with top of  $\kappa$  6. [, dot on line ... [, perhaps c with thickened overhang, then a diagonal as for left side of  $\lambda$  (no trace of right side), then perhaps c; below the last two letters ink, I think not significant 9  $\kappa$ , lower half missing, but the fork is too deep to be suggestive of  $\nu$ 

10	]εφολο[	10 αλλακ.[
	]υτοιδα[	cac.[
	]τεκαις ψ	δραμη[
	]ν μελιων	$ au\omega u$
	$]$ ιγαρρ $\dot{a}$ θ $a$	τοκο[
15	]εςςαιπα	15 ηα.[]ο[
	]μενωνδ'	δ'α[
	$] au\epsilon\kappa holpha au\epsilon$	> <u>λ</u> α[
	]ψμφαςτ'	].[
	]ναγαιαν	
20	]υ, οκε[]	

Col. i. 12 v[, cursive form

18 7, no trace of right side of crossbar.

Col. ii. 10 [, a dot level with top of  $\kappa$ —not, I think, a II [, dot just below line; above and right, a trace just above general level I5 Speck next to foot of a; to the right of a narrow break, a speck level with tops of letters I6 Surface damaged, and interpretation of these traces must be hazardous

Col. i. 2 ] ρυθμό(ν): cf. An. 99. 2 (PMG 416. 2) ρυσμούς.

12 Presumably ]  $\tau \epsilon \kappa \alpha i \epsilon \psi$  (even though the  $\kappa$  looks rather like  $\chi$ ): quotation? = Archil. fr. 196a. 18 West, Delectus ex iambis et elegis Graecis.

13-19 quote Hes. Th. 183-5, 187:

'Ητίοδος γάρ φητι περὶ τῶ]ν Μελιῶν καλουμένων νυμφῶν· ὅτςα]ι γὰρ ῥαθά-μιγγες ἀπέτςτυθεν αἰματό]ετςαι, πάτας δέξατο Γαῖα· περιπλο]μένων δ' ἐνιαυτῶν γείνατ' 'Ερινῦς] τε κρατερὰς μεγάλους τε Γίγαντας ν]ύμφας τ' (1. θ') ἃς Μελίας καλέους' ἐπ' ἀπείρο]να γαῖαν·

The omission of l. 186 seems to support Goettling's rejection of that line.

20  $]v. o\kappa\epsilon$ : the o might be part of  $\omega$ , but the trace preceding it seems to rule out  $\tau o]\hat{v}'\Omega\kappa\epsilon[a\nu o\hat{v}]$  (in Callim. fr. 598, a nymph, Melia, is a daughter of Oceanus, cf. schol. Pind. P. 11.5 and Apollod. 2. 1. 1.

Col. ii. 2  $\phi i \lambda o \nu \hat{\eta} \nu$  [ may be lemma.

3 ἐκοκ. [: a form of κοκκύζω? (If this were ὧτ $<\tau>$ ε κόκκ [υ $\xi$  = An. 105 (PMG 437), it would suggest διὰ κόρ [ον in the next line).

5-6 may be part of a quotation, not necessarily from Anacreon.

7 ωοι: 'The glyconic line requires this to be a disyllable at the verse beginning. A vocative plural like Κῶοι is ruled out by the requirements of word division (see W. Crönert, Memoria Graeca Herculanensis 10–28), which do not allow a word to be split after a single consonant when the next line begins with a vowel. However, the Aeolic form ὤοι for the interjection ἀοιοί is suggested by A.D. περὶ ἐπιρρημάτων §§ 537. 32–538. 3 (Bekker, Anecdota Graeca ii): καθάπερ οὖν τῷ πόποι τὸ παπαί παράκειται καὶ τῷ ὀτοτοί τὸ ἀταταί, οὖτως καὶ τῷ ἀοιοί τὸ ἀσιαί, ὅπερ cυναλειφθὲν καὶ ἐν βαρεία τάςει γινόμενον παρ' Αἰολεῦςίν ἐςτιν ὤαι διότι καὶ τὸ τ πρόςκειται, κράςεως γενομένης καὶ προςλήψεως' (Cockle).

τίς τρόπος οὖτος; 'What kind of behaviour is this?', cf. Soph. Ichn. 120 τίς ὑμῶν ὁ τρόπος;

7-8 [γέγρα] πται? (for γέγραπται at the beginning of a comment, cf. fr. 25 ii 11 below); ἄδηλ[ο]ς ὡς? ἐνκ[ may be a form of ἐγκαλέῦν, or ἐγκαλύπτειν (cf. αδηλ[-).

fr. 18

1.5 × 5 cm

|β[
|, υλ. [
|cυν. [
|, λιη[
| θεοις. [
|λλων[
| ]αμιω[
| εξα. [
] ορ[]ι[
| ]ε[.]. [

2 ], foot of upright descending below line, with speck of ink left where it breaks off, at mid-level .[, short diagonal ascending to right, joined at top by diagonal from right; apex, of  $\lambda$ ? 3 . [, the rather blunt apex of a triangle 4 ]., short stroke, apparently upright 5 Of  $\alpha$ [, only the loop survives, possibly  $\omega$  6 . [, short stroke slanting a little to right, in upper part of space, apparently unattached: a high stop? or, connecting a speck below and right, beneath the line,  $\phi$ ? 9 . [, beginning of a diagonal ascending from line to right 10 ]., small loop on the line, very squashed and elongated if  $\sigma$ ; perhaps top of  $\sigma$  set very low 11 ]. [, top of a diagonal ascending from left

8 []αμίων? τ]αμιῶν?

fr. 19

2.5 × 5.5 cm
top of column
]ι διαναςτα[
]καιαυτοναδ[
]κοιχε<sup>ι</sup>λειδον[
], τατεκνα, [
]ς θρην, [
], ζωαετ[
]υνεγραψ[
]οξα, [

5

I  $\gamma$ , a vertical, then, detached from it, a semicircle open at the top  $\gamma$   $\gamma$ , speck level with top of  $\gamma$   $\gamma$ , speck below line to left of space, speck on line, top of letter  $\gamma$ , lower half and top of upright, perhaps ink going right from middle—but this is on the break and perhaps illusory  $\gamma$ , a small specimen, possibly  $\gamma$  8  $\gamma$ ,  $\gamma$  or  $\gamma$  (or  $\gamma$ ?)

1 διαναςτα[: a form of διανίςταμαι 'to get up' (of someone woken up by swallows?), cf. Anacreontea 10 W. 3 ]κοι χε<sup>ι</sup>λειδόν[ες: cf. A. fr. 53  $N^2 = 246 d$  Radt πεδοίκου χελιδόνος. I cannot account for the suprascript iota, unless it is χείλει δον[.

4-6 τὰ τέκνα. [--χελιδόνο]<br/>ς θρηνη[τικά ἐςτι--]. ζώα? Cf. Anacreontea 25 W.

fr. 20 2.5 × 5.5 cm

Above what I have marked as l. 1 there is ink which appears not to be letters of preceding lines but most likely offsets: the probability of this is strengthened by the patch of smudging which has rendered the first 2 letters of l. 1 illegible 1 ].., badly smudged; from the mess emerge the lower half of an upright on the left, and the upper part of one on the right 2 ov, after v a dot, rather high for a high point, probably not significant vv, upsilon slightly enlarged and irregular; of v, only the first apex 3 . [, speck on line 4 . [, speck level with top of c 5 v, suggestion of ink going right at top, but this is on a break; I do not think the rest of the stroke suggests v 6 ]., a small horizontal trace off the line 8  $\chi$ [, or  $\tau$  10 For  $\rho$ , perhaps  $\rho$ 

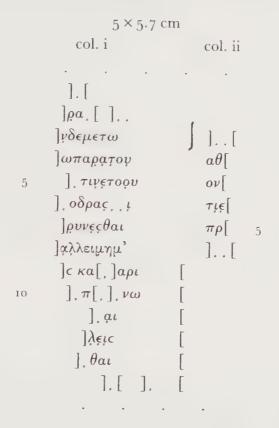
3 ] ἐκτείνειν τὴ[ν cυλλαβήν 'to measure the syllable long'.

4  $\lambda[\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota]$  seems possible. Athen. 15. 671 F, quoting An. 19 (PMG 352), refers to Aristarchus' commentary on that poem; see also on fr. 33. 7 below.

6 ] $\delta\eta\lambda$ ον[ seems possible.

7 e.g.,  $\frac{\partial}{\partial t} = \frac{\partial}{\partial t$ 

fr. 21



Col. i. 2 [, an upright, with top missing, intersected at mid-level by a diagonal descending to right:  $\kappa$  possible 5 ], right side of a circle broken at top: perhaps  $\omega$ , but side of  $\nu$  also possible For  $\nu$ , perhaps  $\mu$  6 ], trace at mid-level  $\varepsilon$ ., lower part of an upright apparently intersected by a stroke from left; above this, a trace above general level: combine as  $\varepsilon$ ? Then foot of an upright, hooked to left at base 7 ] $\rho$ , only right side of loop visible 10 ],  $\pi$ , trace above general level 13 ], tip of horizontal level with tops of letters 14 ]. [, top of diagonal ascending from left, or of upright turning left at top

Col. ii. 1 to the left, a vertical line which looks like the lower part of a coronis 6 ]., top of a stroke ascending from left, flattening out to right:  $\epsilon$ ? A speck to right of this, a little lower than top

Col. i. A small fragment numbered separately by Mr Lobel 'joins end of col. i 2-3 and provides coronis before col. ii. 1 (recto and verso fibres match)' (Cockle).

5 ]. τιγετο ου (] $\omega$  possible, not ] $\epsilon$ ): very puzzling; if τι $\mu$  could be read, it might be a vocative, but no suitable name offers itself.

6 ά]ποδράς ἐπί?

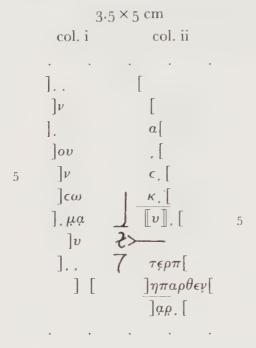
7  $\beta$ a]ρύνεςθαι (of accents)?

8 ἀλλ'εί or β]άλλει μή  $\mu(\epsilon)$ ? (after  $\mu$ , a curved stroke descending from right to left, suggesting a large elision mark), apparently part of a lemma (for βάλλειν, cf. An. 13 (PMG 358) and Anacreontea 26. 7, 35. 16 W.)

9 ώ]ς κα[ί] Άρι-.

10  $] \epsilon \pi [\iota] \gamma \nu \omega$  would fit the traces.

fr. 22



Col. i. 1].., upright with suggestion of ink going left at top; lower half of an upright with foot much higher than the preceding:  $\tau i$ ? 3].,  $\mu$ , or i, or  $\eta$ ? 7]., apex of  $\delta$  or  $\lambda$  9 in second space, upper half of a diagonal ascending from left, turning upwards at end

Col. ii. 2 [, bow, as of  $\alpha$ , but the upper stroke is hooked out to left at top; perhaps  $\epsilon$ ,  $\theta$ ? 3 [, bow, of  $\alpha$ ? 4 [, another, more open, bow on line, but damaged 5 v apparently deleted by a horizontal line through middle; next, a hook at mid-level, open to right and above; the deletion perhaps continues; to right of this, a speck off the line 6  $\epsilon$ , or  $\alpha$ ? 8 [, a thick rather curved stroke: left side of a circle set off the line?

'Possibly fr. 22 belongs directly above fr. 21 so that the traces of the coronis abut, but I cannot certainly confirm this from verso fibres' (Cockle). The recto side would not be against the combination.

Col. ii. 6  $\tau\epsilon\rho\pi$ [ may be the opening line of a poem; cf. fr. 34. 1 below.

fr. 23	$3.8 \times 5.5$ cm	fr. 24		1.4×4 cm
5			5	

Fr. 23

2 . [, upright 5 . [, trace level with top of letters 6  $\varsigma$ ., speck at mid-level . [, broad curve which would fit right side of  $\nu$  in this hand

7 απειλυ[.]..[ Carden: I cannot rule out απειλει[.

Fr. 24

2 , [, stroke leaning not very sharply to right 5 Of  $\delta$ , only faint outline of left side 6 ]..., upright with faint traces of a cross-piece on either side, not extending far; then dispersed traces, rather suggesting  $\epsilon$ ; then top and bottom of a tall upright; at mid-level rather far off to be related, a stroke curving upwards from the horizontal 7 ,  $\epsilon$ , an upright [, left end of a crossbar, and two specks on the line below

Col. ii. I ], short upright with specks to left at top and to right at bottom . [, trace off the line 2], hook open to left 3], upright with ink to right at centre—the surface is damaged:  $\eta$  would be possible For  $\mathfrak{c}_{!}$ , possibly  $\pi$  4]. [, top of a diagonal ascending from left, then a broad foot of diagonal on line ascending to right—perhaps the beginning of  $\alpha$  5].  $\nu$ , a horizontal at mid-level touching left side of  $\nu$ :  $\mathfrak{c}$ ?

```
]\tau ac\phi \circ \beta \circ []a\xi \iota ac[]] \circ []a\rho[
                                                              ξεςπολιν ηλθον οιον ο
                          col. i
                                                               ωεπιςχετικονγαρπραξ[
                                                                οειρηκαμεν
                                                               ] νυνουμένορχεορ η [
                                                                                                                          10
                                                               ]γραπταιεις γυναικα ερως[
                ]ov\pi_{\cdot}[\ldots]\pi_{\cdot}[
                                                               δερηςς υςε [ μενοςδ. [
        ]\epsilon_{i0}[]\epsilon_{\mu i}[
               ]α[,]φι[,]ολονητοι [
         ] αιζεπα[ ]φοτερω
                                                                   \mu\pi
                                                                                                                          15
         ]ηηβη: ω[]ραιαινο
                                                             ], \mu.
             ]. aowoj: \kappa \llbracket \overset{\omega}{\text{oi}} \rrbracket \muav
                                                          cειληνω[
             ], \epsilon \rho[]\eta \rho \epsilon[, ]\epsilon \iota \pi \alpha \rho \alpha 22 | \tau \epsilon \rho \alpha \phi \eta[], \epsilon \nu \nu \nu[, ]\tau \eta \tau \circ \epsilon \tau, \omega \nu \iota[
             ]ερτικα. [...]δ..ο.[] > []ρωγγρα[
ΤO
                                                                                                                          20
             ]\tau\iota\omega\tau[ ]\epsilon\iota\nu [ ] \epsilon\iota\lambda\eta\nu[
```

Col. i. 1 ]. [, foot of upright 2 ], trace on line ]  $\pi$ , either  $\pi$  or  $\iota$  (in which case the first letter could be  $\gamma$ ,  $\tau$ , or  $\iota$ ); then top and a lower trace of an upright extending some way above general level 3 ]. [, two feet on line 5 ]..., speck on line, perhaps the end of a diagonal descending from left? Then foot of upright, for which the spacing suggests  $\iota$  a[..], space for 2 letters: if only  $\mu$  stood here, it will have been a rather wider specimen than normal 6  $\omega$ [], room for one letter, but by comparison with spacing above, probably no letter lost 7 ]., speck off the line  $\nu \rho$ , possibly a was written, more probably a rather elongated  $\sigma$   $\mu$ , apparently  $\iota$  though the upper point has merged with the top of the upright  $\sigma \iota$  deleted,  $\sigma$  written above 8 ]., speck at upper level 9 ]..., traces consonant with top half of  $\sigma$  and then  $\sigma$ , though the two letters would be further apart than usual when in ligature 10 . [, a small and roughly square letter open at the bottom: if  $\sigma$ , a blotchy specimen; for  $\sigma$ , rather large and angular  $\sigma$ ., lower part of an upright descending below the line, then base of a diagonal from the left apparently turning upwards at right end: the two traces perhaps to be combined to  $\nu$   $\sigma$ , lower part of an upright descending below the line, curved to left at foot 11  $\tau$ [, though the surface is apparently clear and intact for the space of 3 or 4 letters, writing appears to have been lost; no traces show

Col. ii. 6 Of ] $\tau$ , only the right side 0. [, two traces which would fit a cursive v ]..., upright, upright with signs of a crossbar to left and right; then another, unconnected, upright curved slightly to left at foot, suitable for  $\gamma$  7. [, speck level with top of 0 10]., trace suggests upper half of a rather small  $\eta$  . [, trace level with top of  $\eta$  in left of space 12 c., trace at mid-level suggesting beginning of a diagonal ascending to right, but conceivable tip of 0?  $\epsilon$ , speck level with tip of tongue of  $\epsilon$   $\epsilon v$ , v is suggested, but the right-hand stroke which should show stops short ... [, tops of two apparently upright strokes 13  $\epsilon v$ , v represented by lower half of a thickish upright ... [, lower part of a stroke slanting slightly to the right, and possibly turning right at base 14 ... [, foot of a stroke slanting slightly to the right 16]..., foot, of upright? Then a little hook at upper level ... [, two specks on line ]. [, crossbar linked to a curve which suggests the left side of  $\omega$  18 Of  $\tau$ , the upright appears to project above the crossbar 19  $\tau$ ., trace suggests an upright turning right at top

```
] \epsilon \pi. [\ldots] \pi \rho. [] > \alpha [
                     ]προετιθετ
               ]. . . ραςδεκαι
                                                        > .
                  ], cαρδις, []δυνα
15
                                                                         25
                 ]μοιρας [...]βα
                 ], \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha, \eta[...], \nu \iota \epsilon
                  ]ψαικ[] ...[]νται
                    ]...\tau o[.....]a\nu
                         ]. [], \omega
20
                                                             \rho \rho.
                                                                         30
                                                              \alpha\rho
                                           1.
                                                             \pi o
                                       ]\kappa \nu \theta \epsilon
25
                                                             \epsilon\iota
                                                                         35
                                       εερα
                                                             γ€. [
                                       \int_{-\epsilon}^{\epsilon} \epsilon \nu
                                         1.[
```

Col. i. 12  $\pi$ , [, a point at mid-level ].  $\pi$ , a speck level with top of  $\pi$  . [, trace on line, suggesting foot of diagonal ascending to right 13 ] $\pi$ , foot of upright  $\tau$ , the trace suggests either o or  $\epsilon$  14 ]..., trace at mid-level and speck above; foot of a stroke upright at first, then slanting away to right; upper half of diagonal ascending to right  $\delta \epsilon$ , apex of triangle, tip of diagonal ascending from left 15 ]., top of upright [, trace level with tops of letters 16 Of  $\iota$ , only foot on line ascending to right, angled more sharply towards top 17 ], upright  $\alpha$ , small  $\delta$  or possibly o ], short stroke rising from line to mid-level: could be right side of  $\omega$ 18 ]. [, speck level with tops of letters, then bit of an upright 19 ] . . , trace rather above the general level, then upper half of an upright or stroke curving to left a little at top; above this, two specks of ink, perhaps accidental  $[0, \omega]$ , short upright leaning slightly to right, and hooked to right at foot: hardly c, possibly 1 21 To right of end of this line, a considerable amount of (offset?) ink 27 ]., thin stroke rising diagonally from left to touch back of  $\epsilon$  at mid-level  $_{\cdot}$  [, foot of diagonal ascending to right  $_{\cdot}$  28 A hook at upper level, open to right and downwards

Col. ii. 23 , [, trace off the line 24 , [, lower half of a diagonal ascending to right 25 . [, lower half of upright 26, [, perhaps the left corner of  $\delta$  29, [, top of a circle 30, [, a stroke slanting slightly to the right, perhaps with ink to right top and bottom 36. [, below the line, foot of diagonal ascending to right 37 . [, speck on the line

Col. i. 4  $\tilde{a}[\mu]\phi i[\beta]o\lambda o\nu$ ?

6 ω[]ραιαινο: ωραι αίνο- (or ωραίαι): beginning of lemma? The gap after ω would suffice for one letter ( $\hat{\omega}$  $[\gamma]\rho a\hat{\imath}a\imath^2$ , but one would expect to see a trace of  $\gamma$  joined to  $\rho$ ).

9  $\epsilon vv$ [ rather than  $\epsilon v\mu$ [  $(\epsilon \mathring{v}\mu[\alpha\rho\acute{o}]\tau\eta\tau oc$  hardly possible).

15-16 Perhaps ] ή Cάρδις ή[ $\epsilon$ ] δυνά-[ $\epsilon$ της? (cf. Anacreontea 8. 1-2 W.) . . . ]μοίρας  $\tau$ [οῦ] βα-[ $\epsilon$ ιλέως.

25 ]κυθε: Κυθέ[ρεια?

Col. ii. 5-6 ` $\nu\hat{v}\nu$   $\tau\hat{a}c'$   $\hat{\epsilon}\nu$   $\phi\delta\beta[\omega$   $\delta\bar{\nu}cac...]_{\tau}ac$   $\phi\delta\beta\delta\nu$   $\delta\bar{\nu}cac$   $\delta\bar{\nu}c$ 2-3 (Rea)?

7 ἐς πόλιν ήλθον: lemma?

8 ἐπιεχετικόν: used as a medical term ('constipating'); could it also refer to a sceptical approach to a story? Or to the creating of a pause in the rhythm?

9  $[\pi \rho]$ οειρήκαμεν (sc. the commentator)?

10 [αγεδ]η νῦν cờ μὲν ὄρχεο would make an ionic dimeter; it may be the opening line of a poem.

11–12 ἔρως [... της] δέρης  $co\hat{v}$  cei[ $\delta$ ]μενος  $\delta$ ...[: is the Love-god himself being shaken by the charm of a girl's neck?

17 cειληνω[: cf. l. 21 below; possibly to be connected with An. 102 (PMG 462) (Cockle), but more probably a reference to Silenus.

17-18 e.g.,  $\pi a$ ]τέρα  $\phi \eta$ [είν (scil. Anacreon)? or  $\kappa a$ ]/ $\tau \epsilon \rho \langle \rho \rangle \acute{a} \phi \eta$ [, cf. Hsch.  $\chi \eta \lambda \acute{a} c \dot{\rho} \acute{a} \pi \tau \eta c$ ,  $\pi \lambda \acute{\epsilon} \kappa \tau \eta c$ , and PMG 462 (Rea)? The sign to the left of l. 18 looks like **221** and certainly not like the usual coronis; its meaning is not clear.

21-9 The diplai against these lines seem to indicate that the passage is misplaced.

fr. 26

 $2.5 \times 5.4 \text{ cm}$ . . . ]..[  $\tau \eta \tau []$ αγεκα καιτιέτ [  $\int \epsilon \theta a$ 5 6a ]eapt.[ την α[  $] \omega cov []v [$ ] κατακοι[ ] δειζακ[  $\mu \epsilon v$  $\theta_{\text{oc}}$ ] νωο[ ]  $\alpha$  [

I Trace on line, base of stroke descending below the line, slanting up to right 6a Inserted, possibly by the first hand [, horizontal stroke level with the tops of letters 6  $\tau$ , or possibly  $\phi$ : the crossbar is on a break; for  $\tau$ , the letter is set rather low 7 v. [, short upright intersected at mid-level, where it is broken off, by a stroke from right; a speck to right level with this intersection, and another above this , [, trace level with top of v 9  $\varphi$ , a triangular letter: foot of a diagonal rising from left to right, and beginning and end of a second diagonal descending from left to right 13 ]., a horizontal rather lower than the top of  $\alpha$ 

4

8–9 A form of κατακοιμᾶςθαι (cf. fr. 15 ii 11), glossed καθεύ] $|\delta \epsilon \iota c\rangle$ 

```
4 \times 4.6 \text{ cm}
               ]8[]..[
        ].[..]. θaι[
          ]..[..]\iota\phi\epsilon\iota[
         |a\lambda\iota\nu\epsilon\pi[\ ]\phi[]\epsilon
              ]γαρτουτο [
 5
                ]. ταυτηνα. [
 6a
 6
              ]νακρεοντοςαν[
               ] ημεκεινε [
                ]ερηγυναικα [ ] [
                ]κας αιμ. [
10
                 ]...[
```

2 ].  $\theta$ , thickish trace on line; above and right, a speck:  $\epsilon$  suggested, but it would not be typical 3 ]. . [, upright; shorter upright with crossbar to right, perhaps left also; then perhaps lower half of  $\eta$  4  $\epsilon$ ., short upright descending from mid-level:  $\iota$ ,  $\rho$ ? (there is a speck to right of top, which could be connected); then another speck, a little lower 5-7 These four lines are crowded close together; it seems impossible to say whether any of them in particular was a later insertion, though 6a seems to have been given the least space 5 ]  $\chi a$ , trace of horizontal level with tops of letters, then cusp of triangular letter linked to the following rho in a flat curve . [, speck at mid-level 8]., two specks, close together on line . [, upright descending below line 9 More cursive 10 . [, perhaps a, surface damaged 11 In third space, a small circle.

4 π]άλιν  $\epsilon π[ι] φ \epsilon ρ \epsilon [ι]$ 

6 The suprascript Εψρυπύλη[ν evidently refers to ταύτην; she is mentioned in An. 8 (PMG 372).

<sup>8 ]</sup>  $\mu\dot{\eta}$   $\mu'$  ἐκεί νεμ[? (cf. fr. 21. 8 above), or  $\mu\dot{\eta}$   $\mu\epsilon$  κείνει (l. κίνει) 'don't touch (provoke?) me' (Eurypyle speaking?), cf. Eup. fr. 233. 3 K.

 $7.6 \times 6.5$  cm

fr. 28

] ις: απεποιμ[]ην[
]ταφοραντηντων[
] ε ταςτους ψωτ[,] ψ...[
] α[..]βιοτος αμ[,].[]... ει εντ.[
] [
]... λλη[.]τοπ.[..]ερονανεια[
].[.]εα[,],[..]ιανα[..]τοψκατα [
].[.]λα[ ]ςα[][.νυ]ε..[
] ψ τ[ ].[

In second space, foot of stroke descending well below the line, curving to left; base of a shorter upright with apparently some ink to right from foot 2], thinly drawn stroke descending from upper level in a curve to the right; a trace below and left suggests a diagonal descending to the left:  $\alpha$ ? [, top of a curved letter, possibly  $\epsilon$  or  $\rho$  5  $\nu$  is larger than normal, being written over  $\omega$   $\theta$  rather than  $\beta$  6  $\epsilon$ , thin stroke slanting up a little from horizontal, at mid-level [, speck just below tops of letters 8], short horizontal at upper level, joined at right end by a short upright:  $\pi$ ? [ $\lambda$ , short stroke at mid-level slanting up slightly from horizontal  $\pi$ . [, upright (?) curved to right at top 9].[] $\epsilon$ , the first trace suggests a very small  $\delta$   $\alpha$ []. [, the trace may represent the right side of  $\nu$   $\nu$  abnormal: the stalk projects into the bowl making it look rather like  $\psi$  10 ... [, short horizontal just above mid-level; upright, followed by a speck above the general level 13  $\tau$  or  $\pi$ 

10

<sup>3</sup> Cf. fr. 1.5 (quotation rather than lemma).

<sup>4</sup> την με]ταφοράν την τών [ποιμνίων?

<sup>8</sup>  $A]\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\hat{\eta}[]$   $\tau\hat{o}$   $\pi\rho[\hat{o}\tau]\epsilon\rho\sigma\nu$ ?, see on fr. 6. 2.

 $4 \times 5.5$  cm

r  $\lambda$ ,  $\lambda$  followed by a vertical (or possibly  $\mu$ ?); then speck at mid-level, trace on line followed by lower half of a diagonal from the left (these two traces to be combined—as  $\lambda$ ?)

4 ], speck level with top of  $\nu$ 

 $2.8 \times 4.2 \text{ cm}$ 

2 An. 91 (PMG 380)  $\chi a \hat{i} \rho \epsilon$ ,  $\phi \hat{i} \lambda o \nu \phi \hat{\omega} c$ ,  $\chi a \rho \hat{i} \epsilon \nu \tau \iota \mu \epsilon \iota \delta \iota \delta \omega \nu \pi \rho o c \omega \pi \omega \iota$  (cf. LIII **3695** fr. 17. 3).

fr. 30

In second space, possibly  $\epsilon$ , but traces perhaps to be divided between 2 letters 2 ...[, two little traces at upper level, then a thin horizontal at mid-level not quite touching next trace, an upright; speck to right of upper part of this—perhaps to be combined with it, to make  $\rho$ ; then an apostrophe-like mark, on the break 3 Of  $\mu$ , only the right upright survives 4  $\mu$ [, isolated dot on line 5 Of  $\phi$ , there remain the top of a quite tall upright, and lower, not quite attached, a short stroke angled slightly upwards from horizontal towards the right [, a short upright descends from tongue of  $\epsilon$ , rather too short for  $\iota$ , perhaps side of  $\pi$ ? 6 ]., minute trace level with top of  $\rho$   $\tau$  and  $\epsilon$  raised, bases level with top of  $\eta$  . [, a little hook on line, suggesting base of  $\epsilon$  7 for  $\xi$ [, perhaps  $\zeta$ [ 8 ]., bit of a diagonal ascending to left ( $\lambda$  or  $\delta$ ); above the  $\epsilon$  which follows, 2 dots, possibly accidental

 $] \in [] \epsilon \pi[$ 

<sup>5</sup> ἀμ]φίβολον δὲ  $\pi$ [ώς (or  $\pi$ [ότερον), cf. fr. 25 i 4.

<sup>6</sup> Άςτ]ερίδος?, cf. An. 188 (PMG 957).

<sup>7 ]</sup>  $\psi$  τὰ λοιπὰ  $\xi$ [ (οτ λοιπάζ[εται?) rather than  $\epsilon \kappa$ ]  $\psi$ ταλοι πα $\xi$ [.

 $2.6 \times 4.3$  cm  $]\tau\iota\mu\epsilon[$ πο ζειδ[  $]\epsilon a\delta \epsilon \tau[], \lambda, [$ 

1 Loop, of α? 2 Diagonal ascending to right 4 Tongue of ε is irregular, a speck with vertical extension 6 ],  $\lambda$ , [, traces of the top of a diagonal ascending to right and of a horizontal ( $\epsilon$ ?) joined to a letter which has been corrected to  $\lambda$ , followed by a small curved letter ( $\epsilon$  or o)

5 e.g.  $\mathring{a}$ ]πὸ  $\varsigma$ { $\epsilon$ }ι $\delta$ [ήρου (Rea), cf. PMG 347 fr. 1.7? The space after πο seems to rule out Πος $\epsilon$ ι $\delta$ [.

fr. 32

 $3.7 \times 5.7$  cm . . . . . ]..[].[]..[ ].[].[] $v\epsilon$ []..[.].[ ]ηcεν[..]..[..]..μω.[ $]\epsilon\delta$ ,  $i\mu$ i,  $\epsilon$ i $\mu$ ai ]χιτωνα [

I ]...[, in second space, a stroke slanting rather to right of vertical, crossed below mid-level by a horizontal 2 ]. [1, speck on line ]. [2, longish upright with ink going to right (and left?) at top ]. [3, narrow  $\mu$ ? 3 . [, foot, well below line 4 ], bottom of a curved letter,  $\epsilon$  or  $\epsilon$  after  $\delta$ , trace of a diagonal ascending to right  $\mu$  rather than  $\eta$   $\mu$ , two letters ( $\mu$ )?

5 ]χιτωνα: cf. An. 115 (PMG 399).

 $6.6 \times 5.3$  cm

```
fr. 33
```

```
. . . .
           ], \theta \epsilon, [...] \tau \epsilon \rho \alpha \eta, [
         ] νθην[ ]νομαδι [
        ]ονειδος εννεω[]δ[,,]α, α
       ]\rho \alpha, \nu \pi \epsilon \rho \epsilon \epsilon. [....]\nu \alpha[..]\eta [
        ]a....[]...i\phi...\nu[]\theta\eta\epsilon
 5
       ]π, μ, [.], τεροιφαιν[.]νται
 6
7a
             ]. υτο[.]αυτη
       ], α, ου, . [..], εγαραυτης μαιναδαςκαλει [
7b
        ]. . . . . [ . . ]ιςταρχειοςαθετει
                    ] oi\eta \tau \eta \pi ] \rho_i \eta \nu \epsilon_i \epsilon_i \pi \rho_i [
                     ]φ....νπροςαφρο
                         ]εςθαιπαρατιθε
10
                         ] ακαςα καιουψυ [
                               [ειςατ υμει
                          . . . . . .
```

Surface has suffered badly from tearing and abrasion 1 After  $\theta_{\epsilon}$ , a long upright  $(\rho[?])$  [, hook off the line, would fit e.g.  $\alpha$  2], trace on line  $\nu[]$ , a speck below this gap, probably not connected with a letter ...[, upright, smudge on line, bit of a diagonal off the line, ascending to the right 8 The last two letters in cursive, perhaps  $\pi\rho\alpha$ ? 11], speck rather below level of top of  $\alpha$ 

5 Possibly οἰνάνθης, cf. l. 2 ]ανθην.

7b In the second of the two inserted lines, oc has been added after yap and authe changed to autac.

7 Άμμώ] γιος ὁ [Άρ] ιστάρχειος?, cf. Schol. A Il. 10. 397-9.

9-10 πρὸς Άφρο-[δίτην: cf. fr. 16 ii 8.

fr. 34

3 × 5.1 cm

top of column

|τερπεν..ια[.]...[
|εραναι.υ.[
|ονπ[αρ]οι[
|τοαι[]..[
|5 |...[]αδι[
|...[
|7 |νος.[
|8a |...[
|8 |].α.[

I  $\gamma$ ..., upright, then a short horizontal off the line, suitable for tongue of  $\epsilon$  2  $\gamma$ ., lower half of an upright leaning slightly to the right [, dispersed traces suitable for a short upright upright 8]., upright [, small circle above a break at mid-level— $\epsilon$  suggested

fr. 35  $1.5 \times 1.5 \text{ cm}$   $\vdots$   $\eta \rho. [$   $] \chi i \varsigma. . [$   $] . . . \delta [$ 

I [, speck on line 3]...,  $\mu \epsilon$ , then top of an upright

fr. 36

2 × 3.8 cm

...

], ι [
], φης, [
], τ![
], ...[], ε[
5 ], ...[
], ομμ. [

2 ], trace on line top of a curved letter: c? [, dim traces compatible with an upright ( $\iota$ ?) 3 ], possibly  $\alpha$  6 ],

2.9 × 2 cm

2 ]..., foot of upright; traces on line and, a little to right, at mid-level 3 ]..., as would fit the traces ...[, a hook at mid-level and a trace above:  $\epsilon$ ? 4 ]., trace on line For  $\kappa$ , possibly v: the stalk and right or upper arm can be seen, but neither a lower arm of  $\kappa$  nor the top of the upright, nor, if v, the left arm  $\mu$ ..., dispersed traces along the line of a diagonal ascending to the right, and a firmer trace at the top, perhaps descending again: a might fit; then upper part of a circle at mid-level 5  $\alpha$ ., diagonal ascending steeply to right

That fr. 37 belongs under fr. 34 is suggested by the colour of the verso fibres (Cockle).

fr. 38

- 2 ], back of  $\lambda$  or  $\alpha$  crossbar, slightly higher
- 3 ], three specks around the line
- 5 . [, traces on the break of another

fr. 39

2 ]. [, upright ]..., first trace: foot of upright and top of upright, its top intersected by a stroke descending diagonally to the right; second trace, upright 3  $\kappa$ ..., apparently a stroke slanting up from line to mid-level, in ligature with a v-shaped letter (cursive v?) 4 . [, trace above the general level

 $3 \times 3$  cm

 $]\lambda[$ 

]εαμο. [

](vac.),[

], of  $|\epsilon|$ 

5 ]καιτακ. [

]. ¡a [

I for  $\lambda$ , possibly  $\chi$  2. [, lower part of a diagonal ascending to the right, beginning well below the line 4.]., bit of a stroke level with the tops of letters, angled like an acute accent 5. [, speck level with top of  $\kappa$ 

fr. 41

1.4 × 1.4 cm

]κα.[

], ava[

I . [,  $\mu$  or  $\nu$ ? 2].,  $\kappa$  would fit the traces  $\alpha$ [ or  $\delta$ [?

fr. 42

 $1.8 \times 3.5 \text{ cm}$ 

]ç, [

] [

]..[].[

]. ai. [

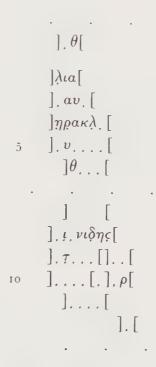
.

 $1.8 \times 0.9 \text{ cm}$ 

 $\begin{bmatrix} & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ \end{bmatrix}, \dots, \begin{bmatrix} & & & \\ & & & \\ \end{bmatrix}, \dots, \begin{bmatrix} & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & \\ \end{bmatrix}$ 

fr. 44

Two fragments (1.6  $\times$  2.6 cm and 2  $\times$  2.2 cm), aligned by Lobel; the gap between them must be uncertain



2 above  $\lambda\iota$ , a horizontal stroke, curved slightly upwards 3 ]., possibly  $\mu$ , of which the right leg is lost . [, upright, and a speck just to the right of it at mid-level 5 ].,  $\gamma$  or  $\tau$  6 . [, left half of a circle 7 Blank 9  $\tau$ ..., a  $\delta\iota$  would fit the traces . [, hook on line, suggesting  $\alpha$  10 ].... [,  $\epsilon\tau\rho\nu$  (or  $\mu$ ) would fit the traces 11 In second space, upper part of a tallish upright

fr. 45	ı×ı cm	fr. 46	$2 \times 0.6$ cm
	] <sub>۴</sub> ¢[ ] <b>ę</b> ¢[		]
fr. 47	2.7 × 1.6 cm	fr. 48	2 × 1.7 cm
			$\epsilon_{arphi}$
	$]\rho o \ldots \epsilon i[$		]. [] ερηνφ[
	]ç[		][.]via.[
	].[		][

2 o..., part of a short upright apparently beginning off the line; there follows another upright, hooked to the left at top in a way suggestive of  $\nu$  in this hand: but the gap between the two is rather wide 3 ]..., a horizontal level with tops of letters; then dispersed traces, a small circle, and bit of an upright

2 e.g.  $\dot{\eta}\mu\epsilon\tau]\dot{\epsilon}\rho\eta\nu$   $\phi[\iota\lambda\dot{\iota}\eta\nu$  or  $\phi[\iota\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\tau\eta\tau\alpha]$  See below, fr. 50. 15; cf. Thgn. 600, 1102, 1278b.

fr. 49	$1.2 \times 4.6 \text{ cm}$

This fragment is made up of two small scraps joined by Dr Cockle in 1975 (the recto fibres match) I], end of a diagonal ascending to right, joined to upright 2 [, corner of  $\alpha$  or  $\delta$  3].., diagonal ascending to right, then a circular letter open at the top 4].[, a very odd letter: a diagonal ascending to right but turning back horizontally at the top, intersected by a large curve open on the left After the gap, a trace of a flat  $\omega$  or a very sloping  $\nu$  7 [,  $\nu$  or  $\mu$  rather than  $\lambda$  8]., trace of horizontal level with tops of letters ( $\epsilon$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\tau$ ) [, a letter curved at the top like a cursive  $\pi$ , joined to a diagonal ascending to the right; two letters may be represented

```
3.6 \times 8.7 cm
```

 $] \zeta \mu \epsilon . [...] . [$ ]τουτω[ ]δ[ ]. ταιτ. ις[ ]. [εςκα[]. [ vcvi [ δρωνλ γεια ]ο ιστο[ γος αποτ[  $\mu \in [\mu]$   $\nu = \nu$ Ю [ενεινινα[  $] v \epsilon a v \tau \eta \epsilon [ \\ \epsilon \pi i \\ ] . \epsilon v [ \delta i ] a \chi \rho [$ ]  $\epsilon \xi \epsilon \omega c \tau a \iota$  [ ]. []φιλοτητας[ 15 ] EXXEL OV ], [...] $\omega$ [] $\epsilon\epsilon\nu\epsilon$ [ ]αταλαμ $\llbracket \iota \rrbracket$ , [ δε ]ουμενο[

I ] $\varsigma$ , lower half of  $\varsigma$  (or perhaps  $\varepsilon$ ) [, lower half of upright followed by trace on line ]. [, upright apparently intersected near base by a stroke from below and left 3]., trace level with tops of letters  $\tau$ , trace level with top of  $\tau$ , perhaps to be combined with it as  $\pi$ —but the spacing, and a suggestion that the crossbar projects to left of upright, make  $\tau$  preferable  $\varsigma$ [, back of a curved letter— $\varsigma$  likely ( $\tau \rho \iota \varsigma$ [?) 4  $\omega$  above line, most uncertain: it may be damaged or itself have been deleted [, trace rather below tops of letters 7 [, upright 8  $\rho$ , a thin horizontal at mid-level, possibly the top stroke of  $\varsigma$ , which this scribe often makes separately and sometimes exaggerates: but one would expect the lower part of the letter to appear 13], on the break,  $\beta$  suggested, but the traces may be misleading 14], bit of a diagonal ascending to the right [, speck on line 16  $\iota$ , dispersed traces suggesting  $\alpha$  of  $\nu$ , only apex between upright and diagonal descending to the right can be seen: this may represent 2 letters; if so,  $\iota \nu$ [ or  $\iota \chi$ [ would be possible 17], lower part of upright perhaps intersected at mid-level by stroke to right 18. [, trace on line

 $4 \times 6.7$  cm col. i col. ii , ςαρ 1.1  $\nu$  $|\alpha \rho$ 5 διατ lvv γικα  $|\phi\epsilon|$ αντι πιαι  $[ \epsilon \phi \eta \lambda ]$ . κων 10  $|\omega\pi\nu\eta$ , [], νθ, [ υτων  $|\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\nu|$ 

Col. i. 1]., trace seeming to rise from line to mid-level; then I think rather  $\epsilon$  than  $\gamma$ , though the upright is hooked only very slightly to the right at base 2]., a stroke leaning rather to the right of vertical and bending to the right (and slightly downwards?) at top 5]., tip of an upright level with the tops of the letters 8]., I should say  $\iota$  with diaeresis (and not e.g.  $\upsilon$ ) though there is some uncertainty since the lefthand of the two dots is darker than the other, and is right on the break 9]., speck level with top of  $\kappa$  11 After  $\nu$ , a short upright intersected just below the top by a stroke to the right

Col. ii. I There is a little upright stroke attached to the top of o, but I would hesitate to interpret it as part of a breathing 3.[, base of an upright intersected towards mid-level by a horizontal to the right 4 Of  $\omega$ , only the left edge is visible 5.[, base of a stroke descending below the line 9  $\varepsilon$  blotted and/or deleted ].[, hook on line, perhaps loop of  $\alpha$ ; then a speck below the line 10  $\rho$ ., trace on line as of tiny cusp [, horizontal stroke off the line 11 .[], an upright, then traces of a letter apparently occupying very little space, i.e. o 12 Above the right leg of  $\mu$ , a dot of ink not accounted for

Col. i. 8 If ] $\ddot{i}$ , it might suggest  $i\pi i$  (cf.  $i\pi\epsilon\epsilon$ , Od. 21, 395)

Col. ii. 4 & πα[î, as in An. 15. 1 (PMG 360)?, cf. also An. 33 (PMG 356) and 38. 1 (PMG 396).

9-10 The sign opposite the paragraphos between l. 9 and 10 may be a reference to a line that had been omitted but was added in the margin; cf. Bacch. 11. 106 (col. 22 of the 1897 facsimile edn.).

10 ρα, hardly ρι: cf. Mimn. 10. 7 G. (11a. 3 W.) 'Ωκεανοῦ παρὰ χείλες' (χείλος Bergk).

 $4.4 \times 4.5 \text{ cm}$ 

If  $\alpha$ , [, foot of upright hooked to right at bottom  $\beta$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\beta$ , upper half of a diagonal ascending to the right, followed by an upright  $(\kappa^2)$   $\beta$ ,  $\beta$ , a horizontal level with the top of  $\delta$   $\delta$   $\beta$ , first, top of a round letter, then trace of a triangular letter  $(\alpha$  or  $\delta$ ); the end of its diagonal might also be the foot of an upright:  $\beta = \beta + 1$   $\beta = 1$ 

2 [λά]βοιεν (space does not allow  $\mu \dot{\epsilon} [\nu \lambda \dot{\alpha}] \beta$ -)  $\tau \dot{\eta} \nu [$ .

5  $[\pi a]$ ρειλήφθαι  $[\delta]$ χανον [: probably a comment on An. 47 (PMG 401).

6 ]ροντες βαςταζει[

7 ]φοι, ερων οτ ]φοι, αρων: λό]φοι ψαρῶν ('dapple-grey', of horses)?

fr. 53a + b

 $4.7 \times 5 \text{ cm}$ top of column

a b

].  $\theta v$ ...[ ] $\epsilon v$ [.] $o \rho o$ .[
].v.[ ]v[] $\tau$ .[].[..]. $\xi$ [].[

fr. 53a + b. 4 was aligned with fr. 52. 1 by Mr Lobel. While his combination of frs. 53a + b looks almost certain, their connection with fr. 52 does not rest on a clear pattern of the recto fibres 1], tip of upright [, apex with suggestion of some ink to right, then a speck on the line; the width of the following gap is undetermined [, t, room for perhaps 2 letters ], a trace off the line 2 ½. [, lower part of a diagonal ascending to the right 3 The line is blank (though the space is rather less than would be expected if a line had been lost)

4 ]., trace of horizontal level with top of  $\tau$   $\varphi$ . [, speck below line  $\alpha$ . [, foot of diagonal ascending to right, beginning below the line eta ].  $\iota$ , trace level with tops of the letters eta Of eta [, the final upright cannot be seen and eta is theoretically possible eta and in the fourth space eta [ are possibilities eta ]. [, upper left part of a (not small) circle

fr. 53a + b The combination of the two scraps is not quite certain.

4 ].  $\tau o_i (o \hat{v}] \tau o_i$ ?)  $\chi_i \hat{a} \zeta_0 v \tau a_i$  . [ (sc. o  $\hat{v} c \tau i \chi o_i$ ).

5 τί δ[ϵ] φίλην [λέγει? This might refer to An. 93. 3 (PMG 373) or 108. 1 (PMG 389), or to a lost verse.

fr. 54 3.2 × 11.2 cm

Col. i. 6 Trace after  $\kappa$  resembles cursive v=7 ]..., the traces are rather blurred: the lower half of a diagonal descending from left; then two halves of a rather large circle, facing one another but not joined together 8 for  $\eta$ , perhaps  $\epsilon\iota$ 

Col. ii. I , [, trace at mid-level 2 , [, stroke swinging from mid-level down and to left 3 , [, crossbar 5 First letter apparently an enlarged  $\lambda$ , but  $\nu$  might be read 10 There is a thin stroke across  $\theta$  and extending to the back of  $\epsilon$ , in addition to the crossbar -rather insubstantial for a deletion 11 Above the deleted  $\pi$ ,  $\tau \eta$ [ or  $\tau \iota \xi$ [ has been added

	], <b>ϵ</b> ] <b>a</b> λ	{	$\phi\epsilon$ , [ [	
	$]v\epsilon$		$\epsilon$	15
	]a		cò[	
15	]		c, [	
	]		$\lambda, \nu$ [	
	].	>	[	
18	]	>	[ ] <i>ec</i> [	20
19a	]υτολο	>	$\pi\epsilon\epsilon[$	
19p	]γιας	>	τạ, [	
19	].	>	0[	
20	]		c,[	
	-	]	$\pi ho o[$	25
		] [	] . aфa:[	

Col. i. 11 ], short upright, perhaps turned to left at top  $(\pi?)$ 

Col. ii. 13 . [, part of an upright 14 . . [, trace on line in left of first space, a speck higher and to right, then a v-shaped trace off the line 17 . [, hair-line trace of upper part of an upright 19 first letter perhaps  $\lambda$  or  $\kappa$ , then a speck at mid-level, then a loop or left arc of a circle

Col. i

19 The end of the second of the two inserted lines might follow immediately on the first: τα]υτολογίας?

fr. 55

1.9 × 3.2 cm

...
]..[
].α..[
]εκαυθ[
]υθην[
5 ]αυτω[
].νμα[
].νμα[
]..[

I Speck on line, then what resembles a small and careless  $\mu=2$ ], speck level with tops of letters, a horizontal at mid-level, stopped on right by an upright; there is ink as of strokes going to the right from this at 2 points, above and below middle; small  $\epsilon\kappa$  might fit these traces [, rather long horizontal on the line:  $\delta$  and part of another letter? 6], a trace at mid-level 7], trace off the line

 $1.3 \times 3.7$  cm

I ], trace rising a little from the line to touch tip of a; above this, a speck at mid-level . [, lower part of upright descending well below line 2], speck on line 3 . [, trace just off the line, suggesting e.g. corner of o 6  $\mu$ [, the stroke is very near the break: I am not sure that ink joined to the right of the upright which I have taken as  $\mu$  would be seen 8 . [, bit of an upright 9]..., traces rubbed:  $\mu$  ca might fit 10 a horizontal crossing the top of an upright and joined at its right end to a stroke descending more or less vertically, seemingly split into 2 ends at top

fr. 57

 $2.2 \times 3.5$  cm

]λογος[ ]. ιεντη. [ ]. υτ' οςιμ[ ]α· κλεαρ[ 5 ]. τινιδ[ ]οναδ[ ]. βαςις. [ ]. . [

ŧ

I  $\lambda$  shows a short stroke projecting to right of right-hand diagonal, perhaps accidental; through the first of there is a diagonal line (top left to bottom right)—also perhaps accidental 2], tail of diagonal from left seemingly joined near base by a lower stroke from left:  $\alpha$  suggested [, smudged: the traces suggest and upright coalescing with a half-circle:  $\kappa$  or  $\epsilon$  might be read 3], trace at mid-level 5], top of small upright turning to left at top 6  $\alpha$ , a more angular and open loop than other specimens; the letter is anomalous, having a small tick to the left from top of left diagonal 7. [, a vertical with stroke to right at top, i.e.  $\pi$  or  $\gamma$ 

3  $\tau$ ] $ο\hat{v}\tau$ ' end of lemma, δ Cιμ[ beginning of comment? A Simalos occurs in An. 88 (PMG 386). 4 ]α Κλέαρ[χος (cf. Athen. 14. 639 A) or Κλεαρ[ίετη? (Cockle refers to Theoc. 5. 88), or Κλεάρ[ιετος? (Thgn. 511, 514). 6 ]οναδ[ looks more like ]ονδδ[. 7 ] ν βάςις? fr. 58  $0.8 \times 3$  cm fr. 59 1.4 × 1.8 cm . . . . 1. [

].[ ]v $]\theta \alpha \pi v$  [  $]\mu o[$  $\eta \in V\chi$  $\epsilon$  $]\eta \tau \eta c[$  $\lambda \epsilon o$ ],  $\pi[]$ ,  $\varsigma[$ ικο ]..[

2 , [, trace on line

t Loop of  $\alpha$  or  $\omega$  2 . [, trace at mid-level . [, trace level with top of v 4 . [, trace just below mid-level 5 . [, foot (of diagonal ascending right?) on or below the line

fr. 60  $0.5 \times 1.4$  cm fr. 61  $1.2 \times 0.7$  cm  $]\pi[$ 1. [  $]\eta\tau[$  $]\pi a v$  $]a\mu[$ 

> I Foot of upright 2 , [, left end of a horizontal level with tops of letters

4. [, apex of  $\lambda$  or  $\alpha$ 

fr. 62  $1.5 \times 1.3$  cm fr. 63  $0.7 \times 1.5 \text{ cm}$ . . . . . ]a[ ]διο[ ]ιωδεο. [ ] $\psi_{\iota\nu}$ [

2 . [, foot of (I think) a stroke slanting rather to the right

## NEW LITERARY TEXTS

fr. 64  $1 \times 1.7 \text{ cm}$ 

. . . . ωςοτ  $],o\mu[$  $]\nu\epsilon$ . [

2 ]., upper tip of upright 3 .[, base of  $\epsilon$  (or o) 4 Trace as of top of upright followed by a speck at the same level

fr. 66  $1.5 \times 1.5 \text{ cm}$ . . .  $]\iota\delta$ . ]*є*с[  $], o\tau, [$ 

 $1.3 \times 2.3$  cm fr. 65

].[ ],  $\epsilon \rho$ [  $]\pi\lambda\iota[$  $a \tau \epsilon$  $\epsilon\iota$ 5 ]va[

1 Diagonal ascending from left, curling over to right at top 2 ], upright with suggestion of a stroke descending to left from top 5.[, speck perhaps not of ink, on line

fr. 67  $1 \times 1.7 \text{ cm}$ . . . . ]a[ ] . a[ ]€,[ 5

4 . [, bit of an upright 5 . [, upper part of upright

fr. 68

. . .  $\nu\tau$  $]\epsilon\epsilon\lambda$ 

1.1 × 1.9 cm

]ών. [

 $v \in \mathcal{V}$ 

]c,[ 5

•

2 . [, speck level with tops of letters 3 . [, a speck off the line 5 . [, trace suitable for top of  $\epsilon$ 

1.2 × 2.5 cm . . . .

], µ[, ], [ ], a[, ], [ ]τ[]ν[

5 ], ο[ ]τ[

 $^2$  ],  $\mu$ [, two specks slightly suggestive of an acute accent over the letter before  $\mu$  3 ], [, foot of an upright hooked to right at base

fr. 70

2.3 × 4.6 cm

]...[ ].ψαη..[ ]..αcτηc[ ]..π.θρ[ ].εκυρτ.[ ].των.[.].[ ].ο.εν[

]ερον [

 $\epsilon \tau \alpha$ 

2 ]., speck level with tops of letters; for  $\psi$ , possibly read  $\phi$  3 ]., faint traces of a horizontal at midlevel and a speck above:  $\epsilon$  might be read 4 ].. $\pi$ , room for one or 2 letters; the first trace is a horizontal level with tops of letters 5 ]., lower half of an upright, perhaps to be connected with the end of a stroke which touches the back of  $\epsilon$ , off the line . [, left side of a circle 7 ]., foot of an upright 8  $\epsilon$ ., perhaps  $\nu$  is to be read, though it would be rather a sprawling specimen

<sup>5 ]</sup>τε κυρτο[: cf. Anacreontea 57. 27 W. χορός ἰχθύων τε κυρτός.

44

fr. 71 1.3 × 3.3 cm

I ],, lower right part of a circle; of  $\xi\xi$ , only base visible 2a rather smaller, inserted between ll. I and 2 2 . [, trace suggests a crossbar, i.e.  $\tau$  3 ]., trace level with tops of letters 4 ], a small loop rather below the level of o, perhaps lower part of  $\beta$  5 . [,  $\gamma$  or  $\pi$  6 . [, an upright 7 . . . [, room for 2 or 3 letters; the final trace is an upright 8 bits of 2 uprights, then a hook facing right

fr. 72

 $2.5 \times 3.6$  cm

space of about 4 lines blank

]τεως[ ] [

fr. 73

 $5.1 \times 5.3 \text{ cm}$ 

This piece is very worm-eaten and rubbed 1 Speck on line 2 ...[, a stroke leaning slightly to right of vertical and curving to right at top; then a small loop at mid-level (o or  $\rho$ ); then a rather larger circle, possibly with a tail-stroke to the right (o,  $\beta$ , or poorly made  $\alpha$ ?) 3 . [, foot of upright 6 . [, apex of a triangle, from right side of which a short diagonal rises towards the right 7 ]. o, bit of a crossbar

,

```
]. , cε , , , ω[]δαθλ.[
]. , [,] εντεωοικ[]ης[], ντ , [
] ει[, ], περιανακρεοντος[
], . τουαιολου ετ[,]νο[
]ονκτ , [, ], . [,], γκ[
]εμα[ ], α[
```

9],  $\nu$ , trace of horizontal at mid-level [, perhaps  $\omega$  11]..., upright with trace of a crossbar at mid-level, then another upright ( $\eta$  or  $\epsilon\iota$  might fit) 12  $\tau$ . [, top of upright 13]..., crossbar level with top of  $\alpha$ 

2 × 7.1 cm

3 γ]υναιξίν? cf. An. 82. 12 (PMG 388).

8 ]. .  $\epsilon$  ἐν Τέω δ άθλα[: perhaps νική]ςας? sc. Anacreon?

9 τ $\omega$ [ rather than τ $\alpha$ [ or τ $\phi$ [: ἐν Τέ $\omega$  οἰκης άντ $\omega$ [ν?

11 αἰόλου οτ Αἰόλου?

fr. 74

]τ[ ]η[ ]η[ ]..[ ]ε.κα[ ]..[]η[ ]..[ ]ρα[ 10 ]νφ[]η.[ ].ν[]κ[ ]ο...[

]*ę* , [

 $]\pi \circ \lambda \cdot \epsilon \in [$   $]\alpha[]\pi \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot [$   $]\cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot = [$ 

15

4 ], [, speck level with tops of letters, then lower left part of a circle 5 ], [, speck off the line, then an upright slanting rather to the right, joined at the centre by a stroke from the right 8 ], possibly  $\omega$ , but perhaps parts of 2 letters 14  $\pi$ , a faint short upright

 $1.4 \times 2.5$  cm

a]. !\ta. [ ].[,]c K,[ ] [.]v.[ ]ψμ[ ]. 8. [

I , [, foot of a stroke descending a little below the line 2], part of a broad diagonal descending to the right, with a speck on the line below . [, speck on line 3  $\kappa$ . [, trace above the general level 4 . [, a long stroke arching over the right side of  $\nu$ , descending to the line, then hooked to right 6], tip of a diagonal ascending from left  $\beta$ , possibly  $\alpha$ 

fr. 76

 $2.3 \times 1.8$  cm

. . . ]κα[ ]..[] $\pi \rho \alpha$ [ ]παραςο[ 1. [

Very dim and rubbed

4 ]. [, part of a diagonal ascending to the right

fr. 77

 $1.7 \times 4.5$  cm

]  $\lambda v \in [$ ]ανης[ ]  $\theta \epsilon i \tau$ [  $]\epsilon\rho\eta\alpha\theta[$  $], \omega \tau$ .[ 5 ], ατωλ[  $]v \in []ocu\pi[$ ]...€.[ ], κυ[

Λ.

5 ].,  $\gamma$  or  $\tau + \iota$ , or  $\pi$  . [, trace above general level top 9 ]., foot of upright, preceded by a speck off the line

I , [, a triangular letter,  $\lambda$  rather than  $\alpha$  2 After ] $\gamma$ , a trace level with top of letters, then an upright hooked to left at top 3 second letter  $\alpha$  or possibly  $\epsilon$  6 ], end of a crossbar 9 ], apex of a triangle

fr. 79

3 ]., lower half of upright

5 ]. [ (fin.), longish upright

```
2.8 × 5.1 cm

. . . .
].[
].[...], μ[
]...[...]ηςη[
]...[...], α[
].κ[.]ρα[.], κιδι..[
].β[]α[.]ςαρ.[
].δυ.λ[
].ς[].ςχ[
]λι[.]τοςυ[
]μος[
].μ[]β.[
```

6  $\beta a[\epsilon] \epsilon a \rho i[$  or  $\beta a[\epsilon] \epsilon a \rho \eta[$  seem possible, cf. An. 33. 6 (PMG 356a) and An. 32 (PMG 411b) (Cockle).

fr. 81

Extremely rubbed and worm-eaten; the decipherment is largely uncertain 2 ]...[, upright hooked to right at base, then after a short gap what seems to be a small circle 3 ].  $\theta$ , upright hooked left and down at top  $\epsilon$ . [, corner of a triangle,  $\alpha$  or  $\delta$ 

```
4.6 × 10.3 cm
```

```
. . . . .
                        CK VET
                       ]\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\epsilon_{i\alpha_i\epsilon}[
                      \left[ \left[ \left[ v\pi \right] \right] \pi \lambda o v \right]
                      ]\epsilon\iota\nu[\tau \pi][
  4
 5a
                      τοχ
                      ]....\theta\iota\delta[
  5
                        ]vo[\dots]v\kappa
                      ]..[...]\epsilon \iota \pi \epsilon[.]\nu \tau[
                       ]\iota \ldots \iota\theta[]\omega\nu[
           ]..[..].\rho[..]\rho \in \pi \in []\iota \tau \circ \nu.[
           ] \epsilon i \alpha . [ . ] . \tau . \nu \chi i \alpha \gamma \phi [
                ]\circ\mu, [.], \circ\nu\delta\alpha, [
               ]\epsilon, \kappa, [
              ]\tau[\ldots]\ldots[\ldots]\nu\epsilon\iota[]\tau\sigma[
                   ]α[ ]του πιθ[ ]νουη[
                    ]vaik[]a.\epsilon k\epsilon i[] \lambda ab[
15
                   ]. \rho_i \in \tau \eta, \chi \in [
                           ]ονερωτ[
                           ] ετιγαλα[
                               ] οωςιν[
20
                                       και
                                       |\epsilon c|
```

I  $\kappa$ , room for one or two letters 5. In fourth space, an upright hooked to right at top 6...,  $\lambda$  or lower half of  $\chi$ , then lower half of an upright 8..., right side of a circle, then  $\lambda$  or  $\alpha$ ..., upright intersected by another stroke at top 9  $\nu$ ...,  $\pi$  or  $\gamma$  10  $\alpha$ ..., short thick upright turning to left at base, and rising from the line at a shallow angle, followed shortly by a speck on line; but  $\omega$  is not suggested.  $\tau$ ..., 2 triangular letters, e.g.  $\alpha\lambda$ ; though between the second of these letters and the following  $\nu$  is a dot level with the tops of letters—accidental? 11..., diagonal ascending to right, followed by another, flatter one 12  $\epsilon$ ..., left side of a circle dimly visible  $\kappa$ ..., speck off the line, bits of 2 uprights ]...,  $\epsilon$  uprights 15]., a speck level with top of  $\gamma$ , possibly to be connected with it, making  $\gamma$  16]., speck level with tops of letters— $\eta$ ., a speck on line and horizontal at mid-level:  $\gamma$ ?  $\epsilon$ ?

<sup>2</sup>  $\mathcal{E}\lambda\lambda\eta\epsilon\iota$ , or  $\mathcal{A}\pi$ ] $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\hat{\eta}\epsilon$  (see on fr. 6. 2 above).

<sup>3</sup>  $\beta a\theta ]v^{-}$ ,  $\tau av ]v^{-}$ , or  $\epsilon ]\vec{v}\pi \acute{\epsilon}\pi \lambda ov$  (Cockle), or a perfect form of  $\pi \lambda ov \tau \epsilon \hat{v}v^{2}$ ?

<sup>14</sup>  $\pi ιθ[a]νού?$ 

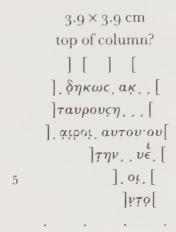
```
15 γυ]ναῖκα: ἐκεί[ν]η γάρ?
```

16 ] τριετή ςχεδ[ον χρόνον?

17 ] ον ἔρωτ[α?

18 γαλα[: a form of γαλαθηνός?, cf. An. 28 (PMG 408).

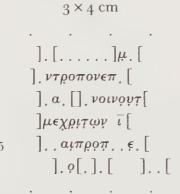
fr. 83



I ]., trace off the line  $\epsilon$ ,  $\alpha$ , I am not sure whether this is a space left between words, perhaps with a point of punctuation, or whether a letter has been lost to view; by the upper left part of  $\alpha$  is a spot of ink which could represent the end of a crossbar \_\_\_\_[, dispersed traces of 2 or 3 letters on or just above the line \_\_\_\_2\_3 the right-hand part of these lines is badly rubbed \_\_\_\_\_2\_ $\eta$ ...[, after  $\eta$ , possibly  $\nu$  (the upright in the right-hand part of this space can be seen, and the rest of the letter, though very shadowy, is definitely suggested); then trace of a cusp, and perhaps the loop—of  $\alpha$ ?—in ligature with an  $\nu$  descending well below the line \_\_\_\_\_3\_\_]., a horizontal trace off the line: could be a low-set  $\tau$  \_\_\_\_\_4\_ $\nu$ ..., an upright curved to the left as it descends, and thickened with a blob of ink at top—then lower left section of a circle? \_\_\_\_[,  $\epsilon$  (perhaps crossed out) is ligatured to a horizontal at mid-level \_\_\_\_\_5\_\_], trace level with tops of letters \_\_\_\_\_[, the traces resemble a small apostrophe, then small  $\gamma$ .

1 ],  $\delta$  likely:  $\delta \delta \eta \kappa \omega c$ ? But the trace does not suggest ]α.

fr. 84



1 ], [, a cusp 2 ], a curved letter: o or  $\omega$  , [, diagonal ascending to the right 3 ],  $\nu$ , two specks at mid-level 5 , [, trace of vertical descending well below the line 6 ],  $\rho$ , speck level with top of o ], [, a crossbar, then a speck on the line

1

<sup>4</sup> μέχρι τῶν  $\bar{\iota}$  [: the numeral 10?

fr. 8 <sub>5</sub>	$1.5 \times 3.2 \text{ cm}$	fr. 86	1.5 × 2 cm

4 ],, tip of a diagonal descending to the right

1], speck on line, and above, a horizontal joining the left horn of  $\omega$  3], an upright 5]..[, an upright intersected at top by a stroke from the left, and in centre by one from the right

fr. 87  $1.7 \times 8.2$  cm EL S  $]v\tau\iota$  $]\theta\omega c$ ]μοςγαρ[ ποδου ]... $\delta\iota$ ] $\theta a \lambda$  [ 8 ga ]υα.ι [ 9  $]\phi a \nu \bar{o}$ [ερων  $]\epsilon\phi\alpha$ ],  $a\lambda \epsilon^{\mu[}$ vov. ], ai, [] η, [ 15  $]\tau[$  ].[

I  $\iota$ , a stroke beginning below line, ascending steeply towards right 2. [, dot on line, I think a point of punctuation 6], ..., first a diagonal ascending to right and turning into vertical (right-hand half of  $\mu$ ?); then  $\lambda\iota$  or  $\nu$  9a interlinear letters, or possibly offsets 9  $\alpha$ , scattered traces which I cannot co-ordinate 13], level with the top of  $\alpha$ , the end of a stroke from left Above the end of the line is what resembles an enlarged capital  $\mu$ —or possibly  $\lambda\lambda$ . [16]. [, a diagonal ascending to the right

2 ], lower part of o or  $\omega$  3 for  $\varepsilon v$ , possibly ov 5 o.., are open to right, from which short diagonal ascends to right ( $\varepsilon$ ?); then dot on line and trace of upright (v?) 6 ], foot of an upright descending below line 7 ], upright ], crossbar [, hook facing up and right 9].., upright, part of stroke beginning as diagonal ascending to right, becoming more upright

3-4 may be another quotation of Hes. Op. 596 (see above fr. 15 ii 8-10); if so, fr. 90. 6 may be part of the same line: τρὶς ΰδατος προχέειν, τὸ δὲ τέτρατον ἷέμεν οἴνου. In fr. 88 the quotation would give a line of between 19 and 22 letters as against 28-9 letters attested for fr. 17; it may have been interspersed with paraphrase or comment.

fr. 89

2a ]..., trace level with tops of letters, the upright perhaps intersected at top by stroke from left 2...[,  $\epsilon$  ligatured to next letter (I think not  $\iota$ ), then a little  $\chi$  at mid-level 3]., upright  $\eta$ ., little hook, then 2 traces higher to the right 4]., small circle 6 a stroke leaning slightly right of vertical 7 a small circle open at top right

 $3.2 \times 5.6$  cm

].[....]oτι[
].[....]α.[
].[..].[.]..ι[
].[...]βοια[
].[...]χεειντ.[
].[.]νεια[
].ορ..[
].α[.].[]:[
]....[

3 . o, speck on line and horizontal trace level with top of o 4 ]..., speck level with tops of letters, crossbar hooked up at left end 8 ]., hook level with top of o facing down and left ...[, diagonal ascending to right; bit of an upright 9 ].[, bit of an upright

6 See on fr. 88. 3-4.

 $1 \rho_{.}[$ , an upright

54

## NEW LITERARY TEXTS

fr. 93	0.9 × 3.2 cm	fr. 94	0.8 × 2 cm
	$] heta o arepsilon [$		
	], 8, [		] [
	]a.[		$]\omega$ . [
	]v ho o[		].[
	5 ], a, [		
	$]\mu[$		

1 c[ or  $\omega$ [ 2 .[, an upright 3 .[, apex of a triangle 5 ]., upright hooked to left at top .[, apparently there was an interlinear letter above this letter

fr. 95	$1.3 \times 1.5 \text{ cm}$

I [, upright, curved to left at foot, and possibly to right at top 2 this line is very rubbed: the penultimate letter is perhaps upsilon

fr. 98

1.2 × 2.2 cm

top of column?

| ταθ[
| ςεμ[
| ] ο[.].[
| ] [

fr. 99 1.7 × 2 cm	fr. 100	1 × 1.2 cm
] [ ],ι [ ]οτε [ ], τμο.[ ][		

 $_3$  , [, at first sight top of  $\xi,$  or possibly left arm and part of upright of v

fr. 101	1 × 1.4 cm	fr. 102 1.7 × 4 cm
fr. 103	0.7 × 1.6 cm	]. μ[ ]χω[
		$_2$ o is enlarged $_3$ .[, the foot of an upright linked to the lower arm of $\kappa$ 7]., the bits of an upright curved a little to right at top .[, traces perhaps of 2 letters: short horizontal at mid-level, a speck at a slightly higher level, an upright with a mark above middle as of intersecting stroke from the right

## NEW LITERARY TEXTS

0		
fr. 104	1 × 1.4 cm	fr. 105 2.6 × 2.3 cm
	]a[	].[
	]καδ[	].[].[].[
	$]a\tau\epsilon[$	$]\alpha o \tau_{} \nu_{}[$
		], c, [, ]ov, . [
		5 ][.]νπρος[
		]a ho[
£ 6	0 V 0 0m	
fr. 106	2 X 2 cm	
		3 . $\nu$ , apex of triangle .[, $\nu$ or $\lambda$ 4 ]., top of diagonal ascending from left
	] $\theta\eta\mu[.].[$	
	$] \tau \omega \nu$ , [	
	$\frac{1}{1} a \rho a \tau$	
	• •	

r . [, stroke beginning below the line and rising steeply towards the right 4 ]., top of an angular circle:  $\rho$ ?

fr. 107	$1.9 \times 2.8 \text{ cm}$	fr. 108		I × 2 cm	
			٠		
	][			]. ค[	
	], οτι[			$]a\theta[$	
	$]v \epsilon \pi \iota$			] \( \epsilon \) [	
	$]\gamma a  ho \pi.[$			]οςτ[	
	$[\epsilon \rho \epsilon]$		5	1.[	

4  $\pi$  untypical—the crossbar projects beyond right upright; faint traces then suggest  $\tau$ 

I ], lower part of a diagonal descending from left 3 .[, end of diagonal descending from left 5 hook facing down and left

	- 1 4 4 6 6 7 7 7 7	ALNIARI ON ANACREON
fr. 109	I × I.I cm	fr. 110 1.8 × 2.6 cm
	].βε[	$[\pi o, [.,]]$
	]ακω[	$]a\kappa v[$
	][	], v, [
		][
		5 ].[
fr. 111	1.2 × 2 cm	
	]ποα[	3 ]., $\rho$ or $o$ 4 ]., top half of $\chi$ or $\kappa$
	]ķaŢ[	
	$]\pi$ [	
	].[	
	5 ].[	

fr. 112	$2.1 \times 1.6 \text{ cm}$	fr. 113	2 × 2 cm
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		]νευ[ ], ε, ν, [ ], , [], ει[ ], , [

2 First 3 or 4 letters blotted (or deleted?)

 $[1]\gamma$ , or perhaps  $]\lambda\iota$  [3], [3], [3] [3], [4] or [3], [4]

### **3723.** ELEGY

44 5B.61/H(12-15)b

 $9.8 \times 7.6$  cm

Second century

Remains of two columns to full height, written across the fibres, on the back of an account of artabas which mentions a 14th year. At least one column is missing on the right (since the last surviving line is a hexameter); this makes it more likely that we are dealing with a roll, rather than a detached piece. But it was a roll of eccentrically small format: 7.6 cm high, with a column height of c. 5.5. (This is all the more marked in comparison with the recto: the document had a lower margin of 4.5 cm; that suggests a tall roll, from whose lower edge this narrow strip was cut to be reused for 3723.) Pocket rolls of poetry do occur in the early Roman period (see E. G. Turner, GMAW 21, 39, 41); but the smallest of these has a height of 12 cm. We know only one roll smaller, BKT V i p. 75 (Pack² 1598), reconstructed height 4–5 cm; this contains erotic epigrams, and the editors comment: 'wir lernen ein Format kennen, geeignet für ein Poesiebuch, das eine elegante Dame rasch in dem Busen verbergen konnte'.

A sheet-join is visible on the recto, c. 1.5 cm in from the left-hand edge. The other edge of the overlap can just be seen at the right-hand edge of the verso; it seems that the papyrus broke along the join.

The script is a small informal one, with strong cursive tendencies: thus beta and epsilon appear in the cursive as well as the formal shape; final sigma may have its flat top prolonged to the right; ligature, e.g. of epsilon, is common. We would assign both the hand of the recto and the hand of the verso (whose general effect is like that of the BM Herodas, though not so regular and pleasing to the eye) to ii AD.

There are no accents or punctuation; there is often a slight space at word-end (and in 1 a larger space at clause-end). The scribe writes iota adscript in 15 (the only word which requires it), inorganic diaeresis in 13 (but not in 19  $\theta\rho\eta\nu\kappa\sigma\epsilon$ , which needs it). Scriptio plena in 1, unmarked elision in 9, 15(?), 18, 21. 1  $\zeta\beta$  for  $\epsilon\beta$  is a phonetic spelling, 9  $\theta\eta\kappa$  for  $\theta\eta\chi$  betrays weakening of the aspirate.

The poem, in elegiacs, concerns gods and their boy-loves: 3–10 Apollo and Hyacinthus, 11–16 Dionysus and 'the Indian', 17–22 Heracles and Hylas. We might think of a simple catalogue, like Phanocles' *Erotes*;¹ there was ample material, to judge from the list in Ps.-Clem. *Hom.* 5. 15. 2. But the narratives of **3723** are so short that they more suggest a group of *exempla*. They could then illustrate a general theme, say (i) 'Gods too fall in love' (see Gow on Theoc. 8. 59f.; Petron. 83. 1–6, citing Ganymede, Hylas, and Hyacinthus²), or (ii) 'Gods too fall in love with boys' (Thgn. 1345f.; Theoc. 13. 5f., Ganymede and Hylas), or a more particular one, say (iii) 'The favourites of the gods die young' (true at least for Hylas and Hyacinthus) or (iv) 'The gods loved these boys; but X is more handsome than any' (*AP* 12. 128 = Mel. *HE* 4470, Daphnis and Hyacinthus).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Powell, Coll. Alex. pp. 106-9 (the actual title attested only for fr. 2). Notice fr. 3, Dionysus and Adonis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> We owe the reference to Professor Konrad Müller.

Line 23 contains a verb in the first person singular; it is at least possible that the application of the exempla began here, but nothing unambiguous remains.

The format, script, and spelling of the manuscript suggest an amateur copyist. The style of the poem might well suggest an amateur poet: he commands the erotic argot (1, 15, 19f.) and attains a certain neatness (16, 20), but his flat sluggish composition contrasts with his ambitious vocabulary; 21  $\delta a \theta \epsilon \iota c$ , if it really represents  $\delta a \epsilon \iota c$ , is a notable piece of levelling. He has four words new to the dictionaries, two routine  $(\mathring{a}μφιπυκάζειν, ευνορχηετής)$ , two of rarer formation (δρυμοχόρος, εὖπάταγος); he shares άφρότοκος (-τόκος) with Nonnus. As a metrician, he falls short of post-Callimachean niceties: he allows word-end after the 'second trochee' in a pentameter (20; Maas, Greek Metre §95) and after the 'fourth spondee' in a hexameter (1; ibid. §92); in 12 a shortvowel syllable stands before the caesura of the pentameter (ibid. §22; Gow-Page, GP i p. xli). But we see no special treatment of the accent at caesura or line-end. Style and subject alike show that these verses are Hellenistic or later (indeed, the poet may have read Theocritus: 17 and 21 nn.); the vocabulary seems to us to point to the Roman period. Thus poet and copyist might well be contemporaries; and in fact we would assume that 3723 is the poet's own copy of his own work. We proceed on this assumption. But clearly the eccentricity of the copy constitutes the only solid evidence; we cannot exclude the possibility that this is a private transcript of an earlier (Hellenistic?) poem.

Such an amateur poet would surely have a model. Such a model, at Oxyrhynchus, in the second century AD, would surely have been Greek; imitation of Latin, though not impossible (cf. PBon. 4; POxy. L p. 60), is much less likely at this date. This model, as reflected in 3723, has some speculative interest for literary historians. An elegy of at least twenty-four lines presents a series of mythological exempla, followed by a first person singular verb. That first person may or may not (23 n.) stand outside the narratives, that is, refer to the narrator; the narrator may or may not be the poet himself. If the poet speaks, and if he applies the exempla as argument or illustration in his personal affairs, the parallel is plainly with Roman rather than Greek elegy; we recognize the procedure, and indeed a basic element in the exempla, the servitium amoris, from Tibullus and Propertius. It has been much disputed whether the Latin love poets imitated a Hellenistic original now lost, or welded disparate Greek strains into a new creation. No such original has so far turned up. 3723 by itself is too limited and too ambiguous to settle the question. But it may be worth asking whether the presumed model of our poet, and the presumed model of Propertius, belonged to the same lost genre.

This text was the subject of a seminar at the University of Amsterdam in April 1984. We are grateful to staff and students in Amsterdam, and to a smaller group from Utrecht, for comment and discussion; in particular, Professor C. J. Ruijgh has allowed us to quote some suggestions. At a later stage, colleagues in Berne analysed the text; we owe to them clarification both of the detail and of the general bearing of the poem.

HE and GP refer to A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, Hellenistic Epigrams and The Garland of Philip.

15

col. i

] c ζβεςςεδεεονπυρ
]...[]. φροτοκοις
].... οναμφιπυκαςςας
].... ντριποδα
5 ]... ονηνυποςηκων
]. μενοςςτοματι
]... ριονουτιναχρηνμο,
]. α. ουπαθεος
] παραιποςιθηκυακινθου
10 ] ωνικε, ηριαδος

 $]\tau\mu$ , olot,  $\epsilon$  av

col. ii

, δεκιθαιρωνος δρυμοχορου[
μυςτις ις υνβακχαις ων ϊα[
ηχης ευπαταγουπρος ποδα[
ινδωις κυλονερωτος εθηκα, [
παιδις υνορχης την θυρς ον ε[
ναιμηναλκμηνης κρατερος[
ηδελεοντειηνως ποτεναιρε, [
ηυκομουθρηικος υλακατετη, [
αθλονερωταλαβων προς δε, [
πανταδαθεις χωρονμαλ ελ ε[
ρυς ας θαιχαλεπων θυμον ε[
ψυχηπρος τιναμυθον εχωκα, [

2 ],  $\phi$ , descending oblique, back of  $\alpha$ ,  $\lambda$ , or the like 3  $\gamma$ ..., second perhaps  $\gamma$  or  $\epsilon$ , third  $\iota$  5 ]..., second probably right-hand side of  $\alpha$  7 ]..., point on the edge at two-thirds height; then 2 uprights, the second shorter and with remains of crossbar projecting to the left, i.e.  $\eta$ ? 8 ]., probably the branches, and the foot of the upright, of  $\kappa$  10  $\epsilon$ .,  $\gamma$  or  $\tau$  11  $\mu$ ..., second a triangular top as of  $\alpha$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\lambda$ , right side of  $\mu$  7..., second, lower part of upright, then another strongly curved at foot, together  $\eta$  or  $\pi$ ? 12 . $\delta$ , an upright descending well below the line, point of ink just to the right on damaged surface 15 .[, short upright with horizontal projecting to the left at the top; damage above? 18 .[, upright on the edge 19 .[, upright on the edge 20 .[, upright curving to right at foot; further trace to right at mid-height 23 .[, remains of upright on the edge

]ς ζβέςςε δ' έον πῦρ ]...[] ἀφροτόκοις ]. ν. . . ον ἀμφιπυκάς ς ας ]....ν τρίποδα 15 ]...ονην ύπὸ τηκῶν ] μενος ετόματι ]. , ριον οὔτιναχρηνμο. ], α, ου πάθεος ] παραὶ ποςὶ θῆχ' 'Υακίνθου 20 ]ων ίκετηριάδος ] Τμώλοιό τε πέζαν

ήδὲ Κιθαιρώνος δρυμοχόρου[ μύςτιςι ςὺν βάκχαις ων ϊα[ ηχης εὐπατάγου πρὸς πόδα[ 'Ινδώι ςκύλον ἔρωτος ἐθηκα. [ παιδί ευνορχηςτήν θύρεον ε[ ναὶ μὴν Άλκμήνης κρατερός [ ήδε λεοντείην ως ποτ' ἔναιρε β[ίην ηυκόμου Θρήϊκος Ύλα κατετη. [ άθλον ἔρωτα λαβών πρός δεκ[ πάντα δαθείς χώρον μάλ' ελε[ ρύς ας θαι χαλεπῶν θυμὸν ε[ ψυχή, πρὸς τίνα μῦθον ἔχω κα [

 $\Gamma$  ζβέςςε. Zeta represents a voiced sigma. This spelling occurs in Attic inscriptions from the mid 4th c. BC, but remains rare except in ζμύρνα, ζμάραγδος (Threatte, Gramm. Att. Inscr. i 547). It occurs also in papyri of the Ptolemaic period, especially in the 3rd c. (Mayser, Gramm 1 i2 177), and commonly in the Roman period (Gignac, Gramm. i 121)

Before zeta is a space, and before that a sigma with its flat top extended to the right; both suggest that the writer understood ζβέςςε as a new word, and discourage the restoration ε]εζβεςςε which Professor C. J. Ruijgh suggests (for the spelling see Mayser loc. cit.) to avoid the breach of Callimachean rules (word-end after the

2 ἀφροτόκοις. The compound might be active (-τόκος) or passive (-τοκος). For the first cf. Nonn. D. 45. 156 ἀφροτόκοι κενεῶνες . . . θαλάςτης (the only instance quoted by LSJ); A. W. James, Studies in the Language of Oppian of Cilicia 30. The second would parallel ἀφρογενής (epithet of Aphrodite).

1-2 Fire and foam, ἀφρο- and Aphrodite. 'Fire' might, in this context, be the fire of love; an easy conceit contrasts the fire of Eros with the sea in which he was born (AP 9.420 = Antip. Thess. GP 349). We should then look for a supplement like κύμα]ςιν ἀφροτόκοις (the miserable traces do not exclude this). Alternatively, we could look for the same pattern as in the three exempla which follow: a god humbles himself and his special powers before a boy. Fiery gods might be Zeus, Helios, Hephaestus; strict parallelism requires a watery (sea or river?) youth, and one who came to a bad end, like Hyacinthus and Hylas. Chrysippus (PMG 751) and Ganymede (Zeus) and Peleus (Hephaestus, 'Clem.', Hom. 5. 15. 3) seem not to qualify, though Chrysippus at least, in the more usual form of the story, killed himself. By extension, the boy himself might have drowned; we find nothing there either (Dr Rea thinks of Antinous; that would give the whole poem a different drift). Alternatively again, the subject might be a Phaethon, whose fire ended in water; but how to make that relevant?

3-10 Line 9 refers to Hyacinthus, 4 to the tripod: thus this episode concerns Apollo, and (assuming that the poet would not change subject in mid-couplet) ll. 3 and 10 also belong to it. The story of Hyacinthus is commonly told; verse narratives Nic. Ther. 902 ff., Ov. Met. 10. 162 ff., Nonn. D. 3. 155 ff. In what remains here nothing touches on his death (the discus, the intervention of Zephyrus); but 15f. (assuming that the Indian boy did die) and 21 f. (which just hint at Hylas' fate) are equally reticent.

Lines 4-7 list symbols or functions of Apollo: tripod, temple, oracle(?). One can imagine various ways in which these would lead up to his beloved: e.g. (i) 'The great god who speaks through the oracle of Delphi . . . humbles himself to Hyacinthus'; or (ii) 'The great god no longer speaks through the oracle of Delphi . . . but goes off to Sparta and courts Hyacinthus' (the same motif in the same story, Ov. Met. 10. 167-70; cf. 10. 529-31). Either might take the form of a string of participles (ll. 3, 6) leading up to the main verb in l. 9; the second would require a negative, cf. l. 7.

3 ἀμφιπυκάccαc or ἀμφὶ πυκάccαc. The compound seems more likely; it is new, but not objectionable (cf. ἀμφικαλύπτειν; περιπυκάζειν quoted from Ach. Tat. 1. 15; ἀμφιπεδᾶν and ἀμφί . . . πτύccεεθαι first and only found in Opp. Hal.). The simple verb is commonly used of garlands (Page, Epigrams of Rufinus 73); if Apollo here crowns himself (rather than wreathes the tripod) with laurel, the line should include a dative (δάφνηι) and an accusative (κροτάφους) on the lines of κάρη ετεφάνοις πυκάσαντας, Oracle ap. Dem. 21. 52; his name might not be stated (in fact, it would be a virtue not to state it), since his functions make it clear. The difficulty lies in [.ν... oν. The dotted nu is itself anomalous (the join of the crossbar unusually high); then a splodge of ink, from which V-like branches project at the top on to a damaged area; then a point of ink, with remains of a horizontal at mid-height leading rightwards to join a taller vertical. The metre suggests that this vertical was iota; then before it ψχ, ψς (e.g. Δ]μονψέμον? but hypsilon would be cramped and misshapedy? or tif one discounts the ink at the upper left)  $\theta$  (fatter than usual) or  $\omega$  (a bit cramped?)? The context might suggest an epithet for 'head', but we can read nothing suitable.

4 ]..., ν: ερν likely, τὸν ζ]άθερν (Μ. A. Harder) possible, not δαιδ]άλερν (ΑΡ 6. 344. 4).

5 ]...: perhaps ]. ov, but the nu would be unusually large and flourished; or ]. ovi, with the iota added above the line (Rea)?

-ονην, -ον  $\hat{\eta}$ ν ( $\hat{\eta}$ ν,  $\hat{\eta}$ ν)  $\hat{\upsilon}$ πὸ  $c\eta$ κῶν. In context,  $c\eta$ κοί presumably means 'shrine'; compound  $\hat{\upsilon}$ πό $c\eta$ κοc is not attested or likely in itself (Buck-Petersen cite only  $\hat{a}$ ντί $c\eta$ κοc, 'equivalent in weight').  $\hat{\upsilon}$ πό 'from out of' (e.g. 'uttering oracles from within his temple')? or simply 'in'?

6 Say,  $\phi\theta$ εγγ] όμενος (as AP 7. 641. 2 = Antiphil. GP 884) or  $\mu$ ελπ] όμενος (as Bianor, AP 9. 273. 2 = GP 1708)? With e.g. ἀψενδεῖ before?

7 ]. ριον: a point of ink on the edge, at two-thirds height; then apparently an eta with its crossbar damaged; a point of ink above the rho may be accidental, or a deletion mark. If the poet intended χρητμόν, one could think (say) of  $c\omega$ ] τήριον to agree with it. But the articulation -ριονου τινα is also available.

χρηνμο. (i) We have tried χρῆν μοι; with this reading the dative must depend on an infinitive now lost, and the first person (unless it refers to the poet) must belong to direct speech introduced by l. 6. But the final iota, though possible in itself, leaves further ink to the right unaccounted for. (ii) Our only other idea involves emendation: read χρηνμον for χρητμόν. But the final nu is not satisfactory: its right-hand side would show an unexpected curl to the left at the top.  $\mu$  instead would explain the curl; but then we should expect to see more of the flat top of sigma to the right.

8 κα, ου likely; κακοῦ more likely than καλοῦ. πάθεος might refer to the sufferings of the god (or the poet); or, if l. 7 mentions oracles, to their content (οὕτε καλοῦ φήμην οὕτε] κακοῦ πάθεος, or the like).

9 παραὶ ποτί at this place Il. 15. 280 παραὶ ποτὶ κάππετε θυμότ. Apollo 'laid at his feet' something, presumably a symbol of his power: lyre, laurels, or bow (for this see AP 16. 214. 5 = GP 3400)? Suppliants, worshippers, and the vanquished grovel (C. Sittl, Die Gebärden d. Griechen und Römer 164, 178); all these would have their irony here (for supplication cf. 10, for victory 15; god becomes worshipper); but it is also the usage of the servitium amoris, as Tibullus grovels before Marathus (1. 9. 30). But we have found it more difficult to parallel the gesture of placing something at some one's feet.

10 ἶκετηριάδος. Tau might be gamma; the final letter, though blotted and perhaps corrected, seems identified as sigma by its long cross-stroke. If the reading is right, we have an otherwise unattested feminine to ἶκετήριος (ἶκετηρίς three times in the Orphic Hymns). For such formations see P. Chantraine, La Formation des noms en grec 355. They seem to proliferate in late poetry: λυτηριάς (Orph. H.), γενεθλιάς (Nonn.), etc.

The word preceding must then be a monosyllable  $(\mathring{\omega}\nu, \mathring{\omega}\nu, \zeta]\mathring{\omega}\nu, c]\mathring{\omega}\nu, \tau]\mathring{\omega}\nu$ , etc.), or an elided disyllable  $(\mathring{\omega}\nu\alpha^2)$ .

The idea 'suppliant' has a surface relevance: Apollo approaches the boy in supplication. But the feminine genitive needs to be explained. Perhaps the poet presented the paradox in concrete form: Apollo, normally approached by suppliants who carry laurel branches, now carries his own laurel as suppliant to Hyacinthus, αὐτοφόροc (if such a word can be invented) δάφνηc]  $\mathring{ω}ν$  ἱκετηριάδοc.

11-16 Dionysus. As before, 11-14 may identify him (without naming him) from his normal haunts and activities; or say that he neglects them.

11 πέζαν. The meaning 'border' of a garment extends to 'coast-line' (e.g. Suppl. Hell. 429. 20; Livrea on AR 4. 46), 'skirts' of wood (AP 9. 669. 10), 'edge' of constellation (Call. fr. 748), 'surround' of fountain (Suppl. Hell. 978. 7). Of a mountain, it might mean 'foothills'; LSJ quotes DP 535 Πελινναίου ὑπὸ πέζαν. Here no doubt just an ornamental paraphrase, as often in Nonnus.

12 δρυμοχόρου or δρυμοχόρου[c; at the end e.g. cκοπιάc (Nonn. D. 40. 273). The adjective is not in LSJ or Suppl.; and none of the -χοροc compounds in Buck-Petersen 336 is comparable in sense. Homer has δρύμά

only (hence Nonn. D. 21. 190;  $\delta\rho\bar{\nu}\mu\acute{a}$  later, e.g. Opp. Cyn. 2. 82); but  $\delta\rho\nu\mu\acute{o}c$  normally has the long hypsilon.

13 ïa- should begin a word, to judge from the diaeresis; and the iota must be long. If it was  $\omega_{\nu}$ , not  $\omega_{\nu}$ , we look for a verb; if a past tense is acceptable, something like  $\dot{\omega}\nu$   $i\alpha[\chi\epsilon$   $\kappa\dot{\nu}\mu\beta a\lambda a$   $\kappa a\nu\dot{a}$  (Ruijgh, cf. HH 14. 3),  $-\nu$ εὔιος αὐδή.

14 εὐπατάγου: new; compare εὐκέλαδος. (Compounds of παταγ- are very rare: πολύπαταξ; μουςοπάταγος a rejected conjecture at Cic. QF 2. 9. 1.) The root noun 'never of the human voice (exc. in late Greek)' (LSJ) (it may refer to birds and grasshoppers, Gow-Page on HE 2088f.); here presumably it indicates the sound of the drums and cymbals (as e.g. Nonn. D. 39, 58).

If  $\pi\rho\dot{o}c\ \pi\acute{o}\delta\alpha(c)$  means 'at (his) heels', and if  $\mathring{\eta}\chi\hat{\eta}c$  is not governed from the line before, we look for a participle to complete a genitive absolute, say πρὸς πόδας ὀρνυμένης (Ruijgh), ἐρχομένης (cf. AP 9. 229. 8).

15 Ἰνδωι. This might be a name; but the shadowy mythological figures so called have no clear relevance to Dionysus. It might be an adjective attached more or less closely to 16  $\pi\alpha\iota\delta i$ ; in which case we need a boy-love of Dionysus who could be called 'Indian', or at least 'Oriental' (see e.g. Phld. AP 5. 132. 8, 'Indian' Andromeda). Ps.-Clem. Hom. 5. 12. 2 gives a convenient list—Achilles, Adonis, Ampelus, Hermaphroditus, Hymenaeus; other sources add Prosymnus and Staphylus. Three of these have special qualifications, and two take part in Dionysus' Indian campaign as Nonnus describes it. (i) Ampelus: Dionysus loved him as Apollo loved Hyacinthus (Nonn. D. 10. 250 ff.); he meets an accidental death, and Dionysus puts a thyrsus in the dead hand (11. 238; cf. l. 16). Nonnus' account is set in Lydia, Ovid's (Fast. 3. 407) in Thrace. (ii) Hymenaeus commands the Boeotians (13.83), and is compared with Hyacinthus (29.95). (iii) Staphylus, king of Assyria, is also compared with Hyacinthus (19. 105) after his death (18. 329); he does not figure in Nonnus as D.'s beloved, but a Thasian Staphylus is so called by Tzetzes on Aristoph. Plu. 1021. Ampelus is clearly most eligible, except that there is the least excuse for calling him Indian.

cκῦλον. The conquering god is conquered by the boy. For 'spoils' cf. AP 16. 214 (Secundus) and AP 16. 215 (Philip) (GP 3118 ff., 3396 ff.), where the Erotes count among their spoils the thyrsus of Dionysus, as well as the thunder of Zeus, the bow and quiver of Apollo, the club of Heracles, and the like; similarly AP 16. 103 (Geminus), AP 16. 104 (Philip) (GP 2372, 3090), Heracles stripped by Eros. In AP 6. 71 (Paul. Sil.) Lais receives as spoils the tokens of Anaxagoras' passion (i.e. of his fall from philosophy). More literally, the dominant mistress claims monetary spoils (Prop. 3. 13. 12, Ov. Am. 1. 10. 29), the conquering lover celebrates

his booty (Ov. AA 2, 744).

 $\epsilon \theta \eta \kappa \alpha$ . [: probably  $\epsilon \theta \eta \kappa' \alpha$ , [; the last letter perhaps nu or pi (not  $\epsilon \theta \eta \kappa \alpha \tau [o)$ ).

16 cυνορχηστήν: not in LSJ; compare ὑπ- (a conjecture at CGL iii 240. 11 for the transmitted πορκιστής).

 $\epsilon$ [: one construction would be a participle on the lines of  $\epsilon$ [ $\pi\iota c\chi \acute{o}\mu \epsilon \nu o c$ , 'presenting'

17 ναὶ μήν is a 'mark of transition or progress' (Gow on Theoc. 27. 27), i.e. it corresponds to καὶ μήν as marking 'a new item in a series' (Denniston 352). vai has a discontinuous history in such combinations. Homer has val δή, AR val μέν. Of val μήν there is an isolated early example in Empedocles 31 B 76. 2 DK; the MSS of Plutarch, who cites the lines twice, are unanimous, but editors normally accept the conjecture of Xylander, καὶ μήν. But from the 3rd c. Bc this, and the strengthened ναὶ μὴν καί, become very popular, especially in catalogue poems:

ναὶ μήν Theoc. 27. 27 Damag. AP 7. 541. 5 Nicander (Ther.,  $5 \times$ , Al.,  $4 \times$ ) Suppl. Hell. 455- 5 Opp. Cyn. (12 x) DL AP 7. 124 (first words of poem)

ναὶ μὴν καί Arat. 450 (var. καὶ) Mel. AP 4. 1. 43, 47 (proem) Nicander (Ther.,  $5 \times$ ) Dion. Perieg. 1123 Opp. Hal.  $(6 \times)$ Orph. Arg. 216 Kaibel, Epigr. Gr. 916. 3

Notice that the Oppians make different choices!

κρατερός requires a noun, say [γόνος or [πάϊς. The rest of the line, to judge from  $\mathring{\eta}$ δέ in 18, should refer to another triumph of Heracles. The short space might accommodate (i) an accusative dependent on ἔναιρε, or (ii) a verb coordinate with  $\ell \nu \alpha \iota \rho \epsilon$ , and its object; the accusative under (i) might be noun or adjective (to parallel  $\lambda \epsilon o \nu \tau \epsilon (\eta \nu)$ , and might or might not be introduced by a conjunction (to parallel  $\delta \epsilon \epsilon$ ). If we assume that this was a killing, and a killing from the canonical twelve labours, the choice is limited: Hydra, Geryones, Hippolyta, Stymphalian birds, the Dragon of the Hesperides? So for example (i) ὧς ποτ' ἐχίδνην or (as Dr Holford-Strevens suggests) ώς ὀφιῆτιν; (ii) ώς κτάνεν ὖδρην.

Theoc. 13. 5 ff. ἀλλὰ καὶ Άμφιτρύωνος ὁ χαλκεοκάρδιος υἶός,/ ὅς τὸν λῖν ὑπέμεινε τὸν ἄγριον, ἤρατο παιδός,/ τοῦ χαρίεντος Ὑλα, τοῦ τὰν πλοκαμίδα φορεῦντος.

18  $\beta[i\eta\nu]$ : the trace allows beta (and several other letters); the supplement is recommended by AP 9. 221. 2

(Argentarius, GP 1496), Έρωτα/ χερεί λεοντείαν άνιοχεῦντα βίαν.

19 Θρήϊκος. In Homer the iota is always short; long iota is attested first in Hellenistic poets; from then on short and long alternate. (See Livrea on AR 4. 905, and Colluthus 212.) This scansion at this place in the line: AR 1. 24, Call. fr. 1. 13, fr. 104, H. 3. 114, AP 10. 24. 3 (Crin. GP 1967), Dion. Perieg. 323, Triphiod. 30.

AR 1. 1213 makes Hylas' father Theiodamas a Dryopian; Hyg. Fab. 14. 11 describes Hylas as ex Oechalia, alii aiunt ex Argis. The difference of opinion may simply reflect the migration of the Dryopians, who traditionally lived in the area of Oeta before being driven into the Peloponnese by Heracles. Neither location justifies 'Thracian'; nor does his disappearance, which AR places near Cius in Mysia.

κατετήκ[ετο κάλλει or the like?

20 The poet clearly wants to say 'love was Heracles' greatest labour'; thus AP 16. 103. 6 (GP 2377) εξε βαρὺε δθλος, Έρωε. δεκ[ can be read, with the suggestion that the conceit was put in numerical form. Twelve labours is the canonical number (hints of a ten-labour cycle, RE Suppl. iii 1021):  $\pi\rho$ ὸε δέκ[ $\alpha$  τοῦτο τρίτον,  $\pi$ ρὸε δεκ[άτω τρίτατον?

21 The story of Heracles and Hylas is told in Greek by AR 1. 1207 ff. and Theoc. 13; in describing Heracles' search, Apollonius (1. 1248) writes  $\partial_{\mu} \phi \partial_{\nu} \partial$ 

 $\epsilon \lambda \epsilon$ [. Something is needed to govern the infinitive in 22; since space there is limited, once a noun is supplied to agree with  $\chi \alpha \lambda \epsilon \pi \hat{\omega} \nu$ , we might expect a verb-form in 21, either a participle (if asyndeton is to be avoided) or a main verb (with asyndeton if need be); a main verb seems more likely, since this is a new stage of the narrative.  $\epsilon \lambda \epsilon$ [ would suit a past tense (e.g.  $\epsilon \lambda \epsilon [i \pi \epsilon \tau o)$ ; but if the verb is to govern the infinitive we can think of nothing better than  $\epsilon \lambda i \pi \tau \epsilon \tau o$ ,  $\epsilon \lambda i \epsilon \epsilon \tau o$  spelled itacistically.  $\epsilon \lambda i \epsilon c \tau o$  in itself might suggest that an adjective or adverb

followed; but for its use with verbs see Gow on Theoc. 25. 60, 124.

22  $\epsilon$ [. On the likeliest pattern,  $\chi a \lambda \epsilon \pi \hat{\omega} \nu$  is answered by  $\pi \delta \theta \omega \nu$ ,  $\pi a \theta \epsilon \omega \nu$ ,  $\delta \nu \iota \hat{\omega} \nu$ , or the like at line-end. We can think of no single word to fill the whole gap ( $\epsilon [\pi \eta \lambda \nu \iota \iota \hat{\omega} \nu]$ ? Lloyd-Jones); if then  $\epsilon$ [ belongs to a different word, the possibilities include (i) a participle governing the infinitive ('longing'), (ii) an adjective for  $\theta \nu \mu \delta \nu$ . We

can think of nothing for (i); under (ii) nothing better than  $\dot{\epsilon}[\acute{o\nu}.$ 

23 ψυχή must be vocative: endearment (as Juv. 6. 195), or self-address (as at AP 5. 131. 1 (PhId. GP 3224)  $\mathring{\omega}$  ψυχή, φλέξει  $\epsilon\epsilon$ , 9. 411. 5 (Maccius, GP 2486)  $\epsilon \mathring{\iota} \kappa \omega \mu \epsilon \nu$ , ψυχή·  $\pi \epsilon \pi \alpha \lambda \alpha \acute{\iota} \epsilon \mu \epsilon \theta a$ ; cf. 3724 vi 19)? In what follows, we have considered two constructions: (i)  $\mu \mathring{\upsilon} \theta \sigma \nu$  with  $\tau \acute{\iota} \nu a$ , (ii)  $\mu \mathring{\upsilon} \theta \sigma \nu$  with  $\check{\epsilon} \chi \omega$ . If (i),  $\check{\epsilon} \chi \omega$  might be intransitive, 'relate to', 'aim at' (KG i 92); or it might have been completed, in the second part of the line, by an accusative (equivalent to  $\tau \grave{\upsilon} \nu \nu \upsilon \mathring{\upsilon} \nu \iota \mathring{\upsilon} \nu \iota$ ) or an infinitive (on the lines of  $\tau \rho \acute{\epsilon} \pi \epsilon \epsilon \ell a \iota$ , 'to what can I' or 'must I turn?') or even a participle (to make a periphrastic perfect). If (ii),  $\mu \mathring{\upsilon} \ell \sigma \nu \mathring{\epsilon} \chi \omega$  might simply represent  $\mu \nu \ell \ell \sigma \iota \iota$ , though we have found no example of the phrase on its own (Od. 15. 445  $\check{\epsilon} \chi \epsilon \tau$   $\check{\epsilon} \nu \ell \iota \iota \iota$ )  $\ell \iota \iota \iota$   $\ell \iota$ 

These grammatical uncertainties tangle with contextual ambiguities.  $\xi\chi\omega$ , first person singular, seems unavoidable. Who then is the first person? He might be (1) Heracles, or (2) a narrator; if (2), either (a) a character in the poem, or (b) the poet in his own person or persona. We do not see how to exclude (1), which would imply a speech of protest ('He begged the gods to end his pain, (saying) "To whom can I appeal?"'). But it would carry this episode to rather greater length than the two which precede; for that reason we prefer (2). If that is right, something still depends on the sense of  $\mu\bar{\nu}\theta\sigma\nu$ : 'speech' in general? or (after three exempla) 'myth'? Suppose, for example, that the exempla were intended to persuade a boy to yield, or a girl to behave (cf. Prop. 2.4), or a critic to condone pederasty, then the narrator might say 'To whom am I speaking? They will not listen' or 'To what story can I turn, if these have not persuaded you?'

If the narrator is the poet, and if the exempla relate, as ornament or as argument, to his personal situation, we must reckon with 'personal love-elegy' of the Roman type; see the introduction.

## 3724. LIST OF EPIGRAMS

75/2

fr. 1 29.8 × 20.2 cm

Later first century

The main fragment shows a heavy sheet-join just before the line-ends of col. i, and another at the extreme right; the central kollema was at least 25 cm wide, with an overlap at the right of at least 2.5 cm. At the left the line-beginnings are lost, and other columns may have preceded (one at least, if fr. 2 cannot be placed in col. i); on the right, the papyrus looks to have broken down the further edge of the join, but there is no sign that text is missing. Given the miscellaneous content, we may be dealing with a part of a roll, torn or broken off and used independently.

Three different hands contributed text. Hand A was responsible for col. i, and frr. 2–3; his is a sloppy, ugly half-cursive, comparable with such documentary scripts as XXXIV 2725 (AD 71), PSI 459 (Norsa, Scritt. Doc. pl. 14) (AD 72) and PSI XIII 1319 (Pintaudi, Papiri greci e latini a Firenze pl. 14), second hand (AD 76); a date in the later first century would suit. Hand B, a 'slow writer' in awkward upright capitals, added, some 5 cm to the right of col. i, a recipe for cough-mixture. This has been crossed out. To the left of it, below it, and to the right, hand C, a good rapid cursive, has added five columns of text, of which the last ends short; and on the back, across the fibres, more or less at mid-point (with blanks of c. 9 cm to left and to right), a further column and a half. C could be dated to the second century; but his script is much less distinctive than A's, and gives no good reason to deny that A and C were contemporary.

Neither A nor C writes accents, breathings, punctuation, or elision-marks; there is no example of scriptio plena. C generally omits iota adscript (but viii  $3 \epsilon \nu \tau a \nu \tau \eta \tau \eta \nu \nu \kappa \tau \iota$ ), and represents long iota by  $\epsilon \iota$  (but viii 11  $\lambda \iota \tau o \nu \sim i \nu 4 \lambda \epsilon \iota \tau \eta \nu$ ). C abbreviates, on two different systems. (i) At line-ends he cuts short a word, and writes the last remaining letter above the line (e.g. iv 17  $\pi \rho o \lambda^{\epsilon}$  for  $\pi \rho o \lambda \epsilon \gamma \epsilon \iota$ ); this is the system of suspension normal in documentary texts. The raised letters are often written with a flourish; sometimes it is only the context, not the formal shape, which shows what letter was intended (ii 3 n.). In places he forgets to raise, and we have to infer abbreviation from the sense (e.g. ii 19  $\mu \epsilon \lambda a$  for  $\mu \epsilon \lambda a \nu \epsilon \nu c a$ ). (ii) Much more rarely he uses signs which belong to the 'scholiastic' system: / for  $\epsilon c \tau \iota$ ,  $\epsilon \iota$  for  $\epsilon \iota \iota$  (see  $\epsilon \iota$  s. $\epsilon \iota$ ). Siglae 2294; K. McNamee, Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca 27, 45).

Col. i (hand A) has one epigram copied in full (15–20), and probably another after it (21 ff.); on the other hand, 1–14 are all hexameters, and it is not clear whether we are dealing with one, or more, continuous poems (not epigrams), or with a series of individual incipits (which might be epigrams). In cols. ii–viii (hand C), there is no doubt: these are epigram incipits, and indeed the first words only, not the whole first verse, of each poem. A similar, but much shorter, list of epigrams appears in *Suppl. Hell.* 976 (ii BC), and a list of lyric poems in PMich. inv. 3498R (*ZPE* 12 (1973) 86; *SLG* S 286) (ii BC); but the obvious comparison is with the very extensive epigram-list of iii

BC in PVindob. G 40611, partly published by H. Harrauer in *Proc. XVI Int. Congr. Pap.* (1981) 49.

3724 mentions about 175 epigrams. Of these only 31 have been identified elsewhere. One (ii 2) is an 'oracle' already recorded by Chamaeleon; thirty reappear in AP. Of these one is anonymous; two are ascribed to Asclepiades, two to Philodemus or another, and twenty-five to Philodemus without demur. The table gives the detail:

i 15	-20	AP 5. 145	Asclepiades (again vi 18)
ii	2		'Oracle'
	5	11.34	Philodemus
	14	11.41	Philodemus
	18	5. 126	Philodemus
	19	5. 121	Philodemus
	2 I	?10. 103	Philodemus (again iv 16)
	28	12. 103	ἄδηλον
iii	7	11.30	Philodemus (deleted, again v 31?)
iv	4	11.44	Philodemus
	7	9. 570	Philodemus
	10	5.4	Philodemus
	16	10. 103	Philodemus
	17	5. 24	Philodemus
	18	7. 222	Philodemus
	19	6. 349	Philodemus
	28	5. 150	Asclepiades
	31	5. 8o	'Plato' or Philodemus
V	3	?5. 123	Philodemus
	ΙI	5. 112	Philodemus
	13	5. 306	Philodemus
	14	5. 131	Philodemus
	20	5. 132	Philodemus
	31	?11.30	Philodemus
vi	4	5. 308	Antiphilus or Philodemus
	18	5· <sup>1</sup> 45	Asclepiades
vii	7	5. 115	Philodemus
	13	5. 107	Philodemus
	15	5.46	Philodemus
	17	11.35	Philodemus
	2 I	9.412	Philodemus
	25	?5. 13	Philodemus
viii	2	10.21	Philodemus
	9	5. 120	Philodemus

Philodemus clearly takes a special place. The compiler included twenty-five of the thirty poems that we know from AP (including 5. 24, which Jacobs, and Gow-Page after him, transferred to Meleager); in such a context, we might reasonably guess that he (or his source) found 5. 80 (col. iv 31) and 5. 308 (vi 4) ascribed to Philodemus rather than to 'Plato' and to Antiphilus. I have not identified incipits of the other five (AP 5. 25, 5. 124, 11. 318, 12. 173, 16. 234).

Of the new epigrams, one probably mentions Philodemus, and may be by him (ii 12); so possibly ii 15. iii 15 makes a pair with ii 19 (Philodemus); ii 8, iv 1, and iv 21 do or may have names (Antigenes, Xanthion, Demo) which recur in Philodemean poems. Other incipits mention Roman names, places or institutions: iv 14f. Naples, iv 25 Caesar?, v 29 palliolum, vii 23 Mouriác?, viii 4 'Popaínc (cf. v 7, vi 2?). We must therefore reckon with some, and could reckon with many, unknown epigrams of Philodemus himself.

Asclepiades, and the anonymous AP 12. 103, had figured in Meleager's anthology, compiled (it is thought) early in the first century BC; Philodemus came in the anthology of Philip, datable to the early Empire (Gaius, on normal assumptions; Cameron, GRBS 21 (1980) 43 ff. argues for Claudius or even Nero). 3724, copied not much later than Philip, shows little overlap with either. The question arises, what kind of text it represents.

Evidence of one kind could be provided by the physical format of the list. Hand C organized his material in different ways. (i) Occasional blank lines and paragraphi break up the sequence. But the blanks may be casual; and the groups set off by paragraphi seem to be of no standard length. (ii) Some items are deleted, and reappear later (ii 4 and 24; iii 7 f. and v 31 f.); others stand twice (ii 15 and vii 4, ii 21 and iv 16(?), vi 7 and vii 14). (iii) Some items, or sequences of items, are marked by check marks in the margin. (iv) In v 5 ff. consecutive incipits are numbered from 1 to 10 and apparently beyond (but not consecutively, if the numeral to l. 16 is rightly read '21'); at l. 19 a new sequence begins, which goes no further than line 23 (the numerals in 21–3 struck out, or covered by check-marks). The group of ten in iii 9–19 has no numeration; three of the sequences with check-marks number five lines each.

Evidence of another kind comes from the list itself. Its main characteristics are:

- (i) Chronological range. ii 2 was known already in the fourth century; v 19 may appear in PVindob., of the third century; ii 28 survives in a Meleagrean sequence of AP. Other poems, see above, cannot antedate the late Republic. iv 8 perhaps replies to a poem of Callimachus, v 28 may imitate Asclepiades and vi 12 Meleager.
- (ii) Overall subject. There is a clear preponderance of erotic (including homosexual) and sympotic themes. Of the thirty known poems, all come in  $AP_5$ , 11, and 12 except six; of these six, only two (iv 16, AP 10. 103; iv 19, AP 6. 349) are not immediately relevant to love and wine; even the 'oracle'; ii 2, advises drinking in the shade. Among the new poems there are perhaps forty whose subject could, with all proper reserve, be inferred; almost all look to wine and love (iv 8, iv 25, v 18, v 32 are the most obviously alien).

(iii) Grouping. (a) By author? No clear pattern emerges from the Philodemean epigrams: two consecutive in ii 18f., four in iv 16–19, two in v 13f. (b) By subject? Occasional pairings may be observable: ii 15f. ( $\pi\rho\delta\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma\nu$ ), iv 3f. (dinners?), 10f. (witnesses to love?), 14f. (Naples), v 16f. (parties?), vi 8f. (harping). But these are not many; and, as Professor Cameron notes, there are striking failures—thus AP 12. 103 (ii 28) is a long way from Philodemus' adaptation (vii 13), and 5. 121 (ii 19) from its complement (iii 15). (c) Alphabetically? iv 28 and 31, where Philodemus follows so close on Asclepiades, exclude that.

(iv) Other anthologies. From iv 28 to vii 15 all the known epigrams except one reappear in AP 5. AP 5. 131 and 132 appear in that order at v 14 and 20. That is,

coincidence of ordering is as small as overlapping of content.

A third question is much more difficult: the relation between hand A and hand C. Certainly they have something in common. C included the incipit of one poem (vi 18), which A copied complete; this poem, and its successor in A, were epigrams, and indeed sympotic epigrams. There may be other overlaps between fr. 2, presumably an earlier column of A, and C, but not enough remains to prove them (fr. 2. 4, 7 (very doubtful), 13; fr. 1 iii 18, iii 19, ii 9). On the other hand, if it was A's habit to copy poems complete, then fr. 1 i 1 ff. and (if the paragraphi are rightly read) fr. 2.4-8 were not epigrams in the narrow sense; whereas C has, apart from ii 2, only epigrams. Overall, we could consider two lines of approach. (i) C indexed the collection of poems which A had copied in the earlier (now largely lost) part of the roll. This is the suggestion of Mr Mark Caponigro, who will develop it elsewhere. (ii) A, B, and C all used this roll (or sheet) for their memoranda. A copied some epigrams, or at least some poems including epigrams. C listed epigrams in bulk; he could have done this (a) by indexing a single collection, or (b)by selecting from such a collection (as in PVindob.), or (c) by selecting or collecting epigrams, individually or in groups, from various sources, which might themselves have been the work of individual poets or of anthologists. 3724 has so much the look of working papers that I incline to (ii). C intended an anthology of erotic and sympotic epigrams. He listed them in short form, perhaps from more than one source (hence the duplications and deletions); the next stage would be to copy the substantive texts: perhaps the check marks indicate that the text had been located, or copied (and similarly in PVindob., if  $\epsilon v$  can be interpreted  $\epsilon \hat{v}(\rho \epsilon \theta \eta)$  or the like). But clearly this does not explain the role of A.

A diplomatic transcript follows; suggestions for the interpretation are made in the notes. The cursive hand of cols. ii–viii presents the usual difficulties, and more, since there is no continuous context to control the decipherment. The readings should be viewed with caution.

In the notes, 'PVindob.' refers to the Vienna papyrus (pp. 65 f.); *HE*, *GP*, and *FGE* to the three parts of Gow and Page's edition.

A draft of this piece was read and discussed by Professor Alan Cameron and his colleagues in New York. I am greatly indebted to them for the suggestions quoted, and for general clarification of the issues.

	col. i		col. ii		col. iii
5	], κα, [,] ακροτερονπροι, ως [,] αρ, [,] ωνεπεκεινα ], ραψ, [,], εγεμειζον ]φορο, [], εμε, αυτης ], κοπ[] ωνας απαντας ]εμκρ[,] μνους τεναπας τε [] οιρους ελεφαντας ], δαρι, ναχελαίων ] ψικες α, [,,,], ρωψας ]λακας τεμεταλλα ] ους νεφελας δρος ονομβρους	αν 5	κεκρηγεινετι εικοςιταςπροκ <sup>υ</sup> ουκοιδαπροφ [ειμηταςουπω] λευκοινους ηδηλουςαμενη ηνελαβονπρωην μουςωναντιγεν <sup>ο</sup> ουτοςοτα <sup>μ</sup> ορφας μυριατηςπαφιης	5	[APTHPIAKHCCKEYH  KPOKOY  TPAΓΑ[, ]KANΘHC SA  CTPOBEIΛΙΩΝ  Δ[, ]ON  MEΛΙΤΙΟ[N]Υ  ]
15	]. γτων . ελοςοις εις ]. οπαρδηςτελοςοις εις ]υς φθιμενους τελοςοις εις ]ςιταις δεκρεμας τοι ] [ ] γοι ]αγαρ[,]. ματερων . ων ] τεθυ[,] ης	15	μοινατητιπαφτητ μαινεταιειβαλλει ιξευεινφιλοδ <sup>η</sup> αψευδηςωλυχνε επτατριηκοντεςςιν μηπρο ερονφιλ <sup>ο</sup> Vac.		[[ οπρινεγωκαιπεντε αιςωπουτινα ]]
20	], τον[] ώς ανεκει ψου[] ] α ], ις τεφανου, , α, [] ], ην ], κα, περιμουςα,	20	νας. οπροτερονετ νηφεινμεπλου  πεντεδιδωειν  μικκηκαιμελα  οχλη ρη	10	ατρωτοςτο /τιςμειςειτονερω [μηδει.] /μητηρκαιθ <sup>υ</sup> /τουςπλοκαμους
25	]ζην ] ] ] ] <sub>ε</sub>	20	τηνπροτερον κἄμηδειςςεκαλη  και  ειμηταςουπω	15	οκτωκαιδεχετιν   λευκηκαιμακρη 
30	]. ] ]	25	ειμεθυεινχειω   ουματονηδυνερωτα   ηςειμητοπροςω   οιδαφιλεινφιλεοντας τα, ας, τρικινα, , , ς	20	χρημαεινουπλ <sup>ο</sup>   φωνω γινωεκου ευδειεκαλλικρ <sup>α</sup> ειτιεμ <sub></sub> φιλοεε <sub>.</sub> τρει .εκ ε . κα . ον
		30	). 		çκλαπλαπαντο . <sup>ϵ</sup> }δ

	col. iv			col. v			col. vi
	, ανθιονουκηδει,					/	μηιφαρμακα[
	τονφιλοναιςχυνη					/	ληκαιτη
	ωνηςαιγλυκερων			τονκρονιδ			, φυταικυριε
	αυριονειςλειτην ε			τογραψαιπο			ηκομψη
5	ημετεραςμουςας			νυκτερι	5	/	καιεμηκα . ω
	ουτεφιλειςαλλοντιν			$\delta\epsilon v\theta\omega\delta$		/	τιςςεκελευςε
	ξανθωκηροπλαςτε	5	а	$\chi  heta \iota \zeta \phi c$			ορχειεθεγλα $\phi^{U}$
	ουμ $\epsilon$ ι $\epsilon$ εωτοποημ $^{lpha}$			$\epsilon \iota \chi \epsilon \nu \delta \eta \mu^0$			ψαλλεκατα
	ηδηςοιτριτονειπα		γ	πειθιμαρει		/	ψαλλεινικαρε
10	τονεειγωνταφιλαινι		δ	$a\mu\phi$ οτεροιπιθ $\checkmark$	10		οινοςκαιροδινοι
	ει <i>caνεμου</i> ςκαι <sup>ρ</sup>		$\epsilon$	παιδαπολυτρ			εκθεςεδωκεν
	τιςταμακροκεοντα	10	S	ουκεαθηλυ			ιξονεχειςτον
	τονπρωτον $\llbracket \phi  bracket$ παφιη		ζ	ηραςθηντιςδο			ταυταοθε
	παρθενοπητανα,		η	τρειςκυαθους			ηνικαμέν[
15	παρθενοπης $π$ .		$\theta$	δ[[ρ]]ακρυεις	15		ουκελε, ονν., []
	τηνπροτ $\epsilon$ ρον $\theta$ υ $\mu$ $^{\epsilon}$		ι	ψαλμοικαιλαλιη			παυεφιληλακατη[
		15		ηρετεμοικομψη			ραι
	$/$ ψυχημοιπρολ <sup><math>\epsilon</math></sup>		ķф	ναρδωκ΄ ςμυ, γη			α[].οιςτεφα
	ενθαδετηςτρυφ			αγροςκ΄ςτεφ			αρχομεθαψυχη
	εὐνουςωμελικερ			πρωτεοςφαρε			
20	ζωροποτηνωρ,		a	πa[v]ρθενιος			
	/ δημ., τις	20	β	ωποδος			
	νηονευληεαεαε			νικαρετηπειθει			
				μειςωκαιςτεφ			
	ατθιδοςψπαφιη			τουςφερεκαιπ			
25	οι , τικαιcαρ		/	αιδεινκ ψαλλειν			
	τεςςαρακυπριδος/	25	/	ουδεπωεμβεβλ $^{\eta}$			
	πτωχονεχουςα		/	μελλειμοι			
	ωμολογηςηξειν		/	γεινωςκωταλε, εψν			
	αυταιτα, χρυς εου		/	ηδυθερευτελκει			
30	<b>ε</b> κτετονημαιερώς			τηναποπαλλιολου			
	/ μηλονεγωπεμ	30	1	ηδηπολλακις			
	ωςφυραικεφαλης		/	οπρινεγωκ΄			
	θυετετηνεμε		/	αιςωπουτινα			

Col. i. 1-14 I do not know what to make of these lines. 15-20 contain an elegiac epigram, and 21 ff. (probably) another; cols. ii-viii consist of epigram-incipits. The first thought, then, is of epigrams; and, since f-14 are all hexameters, of another series of incipits. But Professor Cameron and his colleagues argue reasonably (i) that these are complete lines, unlike the truncated beginnings in col. iiff.; (ii) that complete poems follow in 15 ff., so that we should expect a complete poem (or poems) here. The question then arises, what sort of text would accommodate these rather eccentric line-ends. Professor Cameron thinks of an oracle; Dr R. Janko of a hymn to a god who is sovereign over nature (the hymn-style would explain the repetition in 12-14), perhaps Hermes, cf. 14 (Janko) or Dionysus, cf. 7 (R. Tannenbaum).

Ι], καὶ [μ]ακρότερον προΐτωσαν. The first trace, vestigial, suggests the foot of an upright. The dotted iota is a sloping upright, which in itself might represent the beginning of kappa, mu, nu, pi; but καμακρο alone would be short for the space. The form of imperative hardly limits the date of composition: in Attic inscriptions

not earlier than c.300 BC, but already in Eur. Ion 1131, IT 1480 (see Schwyzer i 802).

2 ]. αρ. [.] ων ἐπεκεινα. The first trace is a point at line-level; the second an upright which curves heavily to the left at the foot (in this irregular hand  $\gamma \eta \iota \kappa \lambda \mu \nu \pi$  might all be considered). ἄρκ[τ]ων (Rea) could be read. At the end ἐπ' ἐκείνα or ἐπέκεινα seems likely.

3 ].  $\rho\alpha\nu$ . [.],  $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$   $\mu\epsilon\hat{\iota}\zeta\sigma\nu$ . First trace is the right side of eta or pi; after hypsilon (which might be a badly-made tau) apparently a small sigma; before the first epsilon, and joining it, a curved foot as of  $\alpha \kappa \lambda \mu$ . At the end, the articulation is uncertain; if this scribe allows himself to write  $\epsilon\iota$  for short iota (hand C does so only for long iota),  $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\mu\iota\zeta\sigma\nu$  (Cameron) could be considered.

4 ]φορο, [], εμε, αυτης. The first trace is a short upright curving left at the foot, with perhaps a junction with an oblique at the top (i.e.  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ ?). ], the end of a horizontal joining epsilon just above the level of its crossbar. After  $\mu$ ε, what might be a badly formed hypsilon; but tau too is possible. If we exclude (ε)μεψ αὐτῆς (εμοὶ αὐτῷ Od. 9. 421), we have  $\mu$ ετ' αὐτῆς or (-)με ταύτης at the end; -φοροψ τε would suit space and trace before.

5 ].  $κοπ[ρ] \hat{ω}ναc \, \tilde{α}πανταc \, (\text{or } \tilde{α}πανταc?)$ . The initial traces look like the right-hand extremities of kappa or eta, or possibly sigma. LSJ gives no meaning for κοπρών except 'privy' (cf. CGL iii 313. 36 latrina). But I have

not found another reading. If an epigram, presumably satirical.

6 ]  $\epsilon \alpha \kappa \rho [\eta] \mu \nu o \dot{\nu} c \tau \epsilon \nu \dot{\alpha} \pi \alpha c \tau \epsilon$ . In the epigram, 'crags' are wild and dangerous, AP 5. 25. 3 (GP 3176), 5. 168. 2 (HE 3659), haunted by Pan, 9. 142, 337; 'glades' are delightful, 9. 669, in the spring, 9. 374, haunted by huntsmen, 7. 717, 9. 300, and grasshoppers, 9. 373. At the beginning, perhaps  $\epsilon \alpha$ , 'let them alone'; cf. 7. 50. 6 (FGE 82) rather than e.g.  $\theta$ ]  $\epsilon \dot{\alpha}$  (where we might expect  $-\dot{\eta}$ ?). That could be addressed (say) to a hunter, or to Pan himself, cf. 7. 535 (HE 4700), or Dionysus?

7 ] οιρους ἐλέφαντας. A spot of ink above the first omicron is probably stray. One might restore  $\chi$ ]οίρους (part of an asyndetic string, as in 11); or - $\mu$ ]οίρους. εὐ $\mu$ ]οίρους might mean 'happy' (elephants were

proverbially moral and long-lived); or, as Dr Rea suggests, 'dead' and reduced to ivory.

8 ]. δαριων ἀχελαίων? The first traces suggest the right-hand tips of  $\eta$  κ  $\pi$  ε  $\chi$  ( $\zeta$ ?); then before  $\delta$  a well-preserved but anomalous letter which I can only see as a poor epsilon. But ]. εδαριων is excluded by the metre;  $\pi$ εδαρίων for  $\pi$ αιδαρίων would assume a phonetic spelling which, however common, does not occur elsewhere in this papyrus. Perhaps, as Dr Rea suggests, the high spot of ink to the right of  $\epsilon$  was intended to delete it.

9 ]γικετα, [...], ρωγας. Before rho the feet of two uprights, e.g. pi; possibly further ink to the right, but

perhaps illusory.

10 ]λακας τε μεταλλα. Possible traces before the first lambda just stray ink? μετάλλα (AP 16. 183) rather than μετ' ἄλλα or μέταλλα? At the beginning  $\phi \dot{\nu}$ ]λακας or  $\phi \nu$ ]λακάς, and much else.

11 ]ους νεφελάς δρόςον ὅμβρους, ὑετ]ούς? Lloyd-Jones.

- 12 ] ντων τέλος οἴςεις. Of vowels, only alpha or possibly epsilon suits the first trace. π]άντων, 'You (Death? Time?) will bring the end of all'?
- 13 ], οπαρδης τέλος οἴςεις. The first letter had a flat top, with an oblique descender; zeta, (xi?), tau? A short oblique drawn through the apex of the delta may be meant to delete it.

14 |υς φθιμένους τέλος οἴςεις.

15-20 AP 5. 145 (Asclep. HE 860) copied in full (the incipit only, below vi 18).

- 16 ]....[..] voi.  $\tau_i \nu acco \mu \epsilon \nu oi$  codd. But  $\tau_i \nu$ ]  $acco [\mu \epsilon] \nu oi$  (the expected spacing) is not especially suited to the traces, and the first sigma would be positively unlikely (the trace is a flat base, with a stroke rising at an acute angle from the left, as in the left-hand angle of a rounded delta).
  - 17 κάτομβρ]α γὰρ [ὄ]μματ' ἐρώντων. So, rightly, C Pl: ἐρώτ- P.
  - 18 ἴ $\delta\eta$ ]τ $\epsilon$  θ $\dot{\nu}$ [ $\rho$ ]η $\epsilon$ .

19 ΰ] ετὸν ὡς ἄν ἐκείνου. ὡς ἄν ἄμεινον codd. Editors generally have suspected ἄμεινον (though S. L. Taran, Art of Variation in the Hellenistic Epigram (1979) 75 thinks that 'the text is sound and emendation worse than unnecessary'): Ἀμύντα Wilamowitz (Hermes 14 (1879) 166), ἐκείνου Schneidewin. It seems that Schneidewin was right, despite Gow-Page's objections.

20 τάμὰ πίη δάκρυ]a. So codd.: δάκρυα τάμὰ πίη Dorville.

- 21-4 The alternation of long and short lines suggests another epigram copied in full. How far did it extend? 25 is short, but would not scan as a pentameter, therefore hexameter; after that nothing visible except 29, a final letter on a turned-over scrap reattached here, and 30, a messy trace which might be accidental. 29 from its length should be a pentameter; but an alternating count from 25 would make it a hexameter. Therefore either (a) 29 was a hexameter (it is only three letters shorter than 25), or (b) the line-space varied, as is indeed quite likely, or (c) an epigram ended with 26, 27 was a single first line, 28-9 the first couplet of a poem (but in that case why do we see nothing of 27?). The amount of blank in itself suggests that the text here was of different character from the upper part of the column (and therefore that fr. 2 does not belong to this column).
- 21 ], ι  $c\tau\epsilon \phi \acute{a}νους χάρ?$  (χάρ read by Dr Rea). The first trace is a strongly curved right side, as of lambda: κ]αί? 'Garlands' continues the subject of 15–20.

22 ] ην. Oblique tail, as of lambda etc.

23 ], και περί μοῦς αν (μους αν). καί?

25 ].  $\zeta \eta \nu$ . Foot of upright, then perhaps part of a lower left arc: e.g.  $|\pi[\iota]$ , or  $|\alpha, \zeta, \varepsilon|$ ,  $|\alpha, \zeta, \varepsilon|$ 

Col. ii. 1 κεκρήγειν ἔτι? I can find no other reading, nor explain this one, except as an ionic form of (ἐ)κεκράγειν, cf. κέκληγα/κέκλαγα. κράζω occurs in AP only at 5. 86. 2 (Rufin. xxxi Page), κέκραγεν (false

quantity, unless corrupt).

- 2 εἴκοςι τὰς πρὸ κυ(νός). Professor Cameron identified this as the 'Pythian oracle' registered by Chamaeleon (fr. 11 Wehrli) ap. Athen. 22 ε and derided by Oenomaus of Gadara (fr. 10 Mullach) ap. Euseb. PE 5. 30: εἴκοςι τὰς πρὸ κυνὸς καὶ εἴκοςι τὰς μετέπειτα| οἴκφ ἐνὶ ςκιερῷ Διονύς φχρῆςθαι ἰητρῷ (Parke-Wormell, History of the Delphic Oracle ii 167, no. 414; Fontenrose, Delphic Oracle 392, no. L 103). Clearly the verses already circulated in the fourth century, when the medical use of wine was a matter of serious discussion (Mnesitheus ap. Athen. 22 ε, 36 β; J. Bertier, Mnésithée et Dieuchès (1972) 57 ff.); at some stage they were attributed to Hesiod (Plin. NH 23. 43, Hes. fr. 371 MW), who had himself recommended wine and shade for the high summer (Op. 589, 592 f.).
- 3 οὖκ οἶδα προφα( ) or οὖκ οἶδ' ἀπροφα( ), unless οὖκ οἶδ' ἄ (or Doric ἱ) should be considered. The raised letter at the end might be taken as a flat-based omega; but, metrical difficulties apart, final omega elsewhere has the double-looped form. I therefore take it as alpha. A similar shape—a shallow cup with its right-hand side prolonged—certainly represents alpha at v 17 and 22; a narrower cup probably represents alpha at v 8 (and 23?).

AP 7. 398 (Ant. Thess. GP 423), 9. 109 (Diocl. GP 2090) begin οἰκ οἰδ'; οἰκ οἰδ', οἰκ οἰδ', with lengthening before mute and liquid, seems less likely, though hardly impossible (see HE 4151 n.; GP i, pp. xxxviiif.). For what follows, the possibilities include (ἀ) προφανής, πρόφαςις, ἀπροφάςιςτος (to LSJ add AP 7. 721. 3 (Chaeremon, HE

1369), 5. 250. 3), ἀπρόφατος.

4 Deleted here, recurs at 24.

5λευκοίνους. ΑΡ 11. 34 (Phld. GP 3288).

6 ἤδη λους $\alpha\mu$ ένη. A real bather, or a work of art?

7 ην έλαβον πρώην.

8  $\mu o \nu c \hat{\omega} \nu A \nu \tau i \gamma \acute{e} \nu o (\nu c)$ ? unless  $\mathring{a} \nu \tau \mathring{i} \gamma \acute{e} \nu o ($  ). The omicron is written high, as if to end the word; but a further horizontal trace, higher still and to the right, may also belong, to give  $\gamma \acute{e} \nu o \nu ($  )? Various persons called Antigenes appear in AP. The dithyrambic poet, 13. 28 (FGE 38), might be too early; the dead friend of Philodemus, 9. 412 (GP 3286), could be relevant.

9 οὖτος ὁ τὰς μορφάς, if rightly read: after  $\tau a$ , it seems, a psi altered from or to an angular letter open at the right, with mu added above; then a loop open at the top altered from or to an upright. Fr. 2. 13, ουτοςοτ[, might be the same line; but οὖτος ὁ is a very common beginning (thirteen examples in AP; cf. FGE p. 316).  $\mu$ ορφή may refer to bodily appearance in general, e.g. AP 5. 139. 5 (Mel. HE 4150), or in the context of painting or sculpture, 9. 594, 604, 687. I ( $\mu$ ορφὰς ὁ  $\gamma$ ρά $\psi$ ας).

10 μυρία της Παφίης. Παφίη 'often stands alone for Aphrodite from Asclepiades onwards' (FGE p. 167); here of course a noun might follow. Ten thousand names, wiles, kisses, pleasures? AP 10. 123. 1f. μυρία γάρ

ą

cev/ λυγρά (Life). Cf. iv 26.

ΙΙ μαίνεται εὶ βάλλει.

- 12  $l\xi$ εύειν Φιλόδη $(\mu)$ . The verb does not occur in AP; but the noun  $l\xi$ ευτής does, of the fowler who uses bird-lime (HE 2144 n.). 'Bird-lime' may be literal; or denote the adhesive charm of Love or the Beloved, see HE3209 n., FGE 1057 n. (and vi 12 below). For what follows, only a form of φιλόδημος seems possible, and the adjective much less likely than the name. If this is the epigrammatist, the poem comes from an acquaintance, or from himself; if the second, perhaps  $\Phi\iota\lambda\delta\delta\eta(\mu\epsilon)$ , but AP 5. 115. 5, 11. 35. 3 (GP 3200, 3298) show that other cases might fit.
- 13 ἀψευδής,  $\mathring{\omega}$  λύχνε (or ἀψευδή c',). Lovers address lamps, AP 5. 7. 1 (Asclep. HE 846), 5. 8. 1, 5. 166. 7 (Mel. HE 4353, 4266), 6. 333. 1 (Argentarius, GP 1365), and characteristically as witnesses, which may be the point of ἀψευδής.

14 έπτὰ τριηκόντες ειν. ΑΡ 11. 41 (Phld. GP 3260).

15  $\mu \dot{\eta}$  πρότερον φιλο( ). Again vii 4, with φιλ( ). The possibilities include φιλό(της) (nominative or, as Dr Holford-Strevens suggests, vocative) and  $\phi\iota\lambda o(\tau\eta\tau^-)$ , and compound names and adjectives, among them Φιλό(δημ), cf. 12 above.

16 ὁ πρότερον  $c_{T, y}$ : the third word probably  $c_T \dot{\nu} \omega_Y$  (Rea), though v might also be read as  $\eta$ . For epigrams

on impotence, see GP 1517 ff. n.; the one by Phld. (below iii 7, ?v 31) begins ὁ πρίν.

17  $v \dot{\eta} \phi \epsilon \iota \nu \mu \epsilon \pi \lambda o \nu$ . Apparently  $\pi$ , not  $\gamma$ ; the final hypsilon takes a form (top arc with a long tail attached below) different from the V-shape normal to this hand, but I do not see how to take it as iota with a suspended letter above; it is not visibly raised, but then the scribe does from time to time end an abbreviated word at normal line-level. Articulate  $\mu' \in \pi \lambda o v(-)$ ,  $\mu \in \pi \lambda o v(-)$ ? Nothing much offers except  $\pi \lambda o \hat{v} \tau o \epsilon (\pi \lambda o v \tau \epsilon \hat{v})$ , Πλούτων: sobriety puts money in your pocket? death drives one to drink, or drink leads to death, e.g. AP 7. 660. 2 (Theoc. HE 3427)?

18 πέντε δίδωςιν. ΑΡ 5. 126 (Phld. GP 3314).

19 μικκή καὶ μελα(νεῦςα). ΑΡ 5. 121 (Phld. GP 3206). Cf. iii 15.

20  $\dot{o}\chi\lambda\eta\rho\dot{\eta}$ . The word, not attested in AP, may apply to persons or to things.

21 την πρότερον. Possibly AP 10. 103 (Phld. GP 3310); but that comes in fuller form below, iv 16.

- 22 καν μηδείς  $\epsilon$  καλ $\hat{\eta}$  (verb?) or  $\epsilon$ , καλ $\hat{\eta}$  (vocative)? But the suprascript nu has an unexpected extra flourish at the top right.
- 23 .... και ..... The first two letters might be kappa epsilon, or together omega; the fourth nu. If it was ... γ καί, ψων is the only metrical reading that occurs to me

24  $\epsilon i \mu \dot{\eta} \tau \dot{\alpha} c o v \pi \omega$ . The same beginning, deleted, above l. 4.

25 εἰ μεθύειν Χίω. A Chian (even Homer)? or Chian wine, the best (HE 1454 n.), which Philodemus, for

example, regards as a luxury to deny himself and Piso, AP 11. 34, 44 (GP 3288, 3302)?

26 οὐ μὰ τὸν ἡδὺν Ἔρωτα. Compare, for example, AP 5. 110. 3f. (Argentarius, GP 1335) οὐ μὰ τὸν  $\dot{\eta}$ δύν/ Bάκχον; 9. 260. 3 (Secundus, GP 3388) οὐ μὰ Kύπριν.  $\dot{\eta}$ δύν Eρωτα at the same place in the line, AP 12. 2. 5 (Strato), cf. Orph. H. 58. 1.

27  $\dot{\eta}$  ειμὴ τὸ πρός  $\omega(\pi o \nu)$ ? The last letter is not raised, so that the simple πρός  $\omega$  could also be considered. The lady was old or ugly or African? But the point might be that her lover saw her differently: Lucr. 4. 1169 (after Pl. Rep. 474 D; Philaenis may have mediated the motif, as XXXIX 2891 fr. 3 shows) simula Silena ac Saturast.

28 οΐδα φιλείν φιλέοντας. AP 12. 103 (ἄδηλον, HE 3900), where the editors note: 'This sententious couplet is from the long Meleagrian section in AP 12, but it is not visibly paederastic or even erotic in content  $\dots$  The lines should be with Phocylides among the Protreptica of Book 10, and they may very well be pre-Hellenistic.' Philodemus converts this proverbial wisdom to erotic ends, AP 5. 107 (GP 3188) = vii 13 below.

29 ταύτας ὁ τρικίναιδος? But there are palaeographic difficulties: the reading αυτ assumes that hypsilon has virtually disappeared in the tail of the alpha before and the top of tau following; the reading ιδο, satisfactory in itself, does not explain an oblique descending from the top of the supposed iota. τρικίναιδος would be new; the simple word does not appear in AP.

30 Only the raised final letter shows. Two more lines may be lost, if the foot of this column ranged with that of col. v.

Col. iii. 1-6 'Preparation of remedy for affections of the wind-pipe. Saffron, 3 ob. Tragacanth, 1 dr. Pine-cones, 1 dr. One egg. Honey, 3 ob.'

Recipes for arteriacs were many and various. See Gal. xiii 1 ff. Kühn; Scrib. Larg. 74-5.

7-8, the former AP 11. 30 (Phld. GP 3328), have been crossed through, and reappear at col. v 31-2. Then a blank line, and a fresh start in q.

9 ἄτρωτος το...( ). The suspended letter is a curve, such as elsewhere represents alpha, but with a flat extension to the right, which might suggest a careless omega. Before it two narrow letters (the second might be epsilon?) or one broad (mu?).  $\mu a(\chi^{-})$  might be relevant.

ἄτρωτος may be literal, or amatory as AP 12. 101. 1 (Mel. HE 4540), 12. 8. 3 (Strato).

10 τίς μις εί τὸν ἔρω $(\tau a)$  or ἐρ $\hat{\omega}(\nu \tau a)$ .

11  $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\iota$ , then a trace like a high point to the right (accidental?); crossed through. I cannot identify this

beginning in the rest of the papyrus.

12 μήτηρ καὶ θυ(γάτηρ?). Theta would at first sight be taken for omicron; but that seems intractable, and a small trace of the crossbar can perhaps be seen on a damaged patch half way down.  $AP_5$ . 127 (Argentarius  $GP_{1355}$ ) gives one possible context.

13 τούς πλοκάμους.

14 ὀκτωκαιδεχέτιν. The word AP 7. 167. 5 (Diosc. HE 1717); the point there is premature death (similarly the masculine at AP 7. 466. 3 (Leonidas, HE 2405), 7. 468. 2 (Mel. HE 4691)). The aspiration of ἔτος is too common in the Koine to be called a mistake; see e.g. Crönert, Memoria Graeca Herculanensis 151.

15  $\lambda \epsilon \nu \kappa \dot{\eta}$  καὶ μακρή. Both might be applied to hair, AP 5. 103. 3, 7. 485. 3, or life, 6. 278. 4, 7. 650. 2, or, presumably, a person: Professor Cameron suggests, very plausibly, that this epigram made a pair with its

contrary ii 19 (Philodemus).

16 .....νμαλα: the second trace looks like hypsilon or perhaps kappa or chi, then perhaps tau omega sigma, then a small trace at mid-height (omicron?). ὀκτὼ cόν, οὖτω cόν or οὖτως ὄν may be possible; but there is ink too far left to belong to the supposed initial omicron (and too far right to belong to the marginal check-mark).

17 εἰ μὲν μὴ καλή.

18 χρήμαςιν οὐ πλο(), e.g. πλο(υτώ), πλο(ῦτος)? True riches are the riches of the spirit, AP 9. 234 (Crin.

GP 2054), 10. 41? Cf. fr. 2. 4.

19  $\phiωνω γινωςκου$ , or γινωςκου(ca) or the like? (The last letter is not raised; but the scribe does not always so mark his abbreviations.) The second word might begin direct speech, cf. AP 9. 552. 3 (Ant. Thess. GP 301); but Professor David Sider's elegant suggestion,  $\phiωνω γινωςκου(cι)$  (Pindar, Ol. 2. 85  $\phiωνωςνα$  cυνετοιςιν) has clear advantages. Cf. fr. 2. 7.

20 εὔδεις Καλλικρα( ). AP offers a beloved Callicrates, 12. 95 (Mel. HE 4398), and two Callicrateias, both dead, one a new Alcestis, 7. 691, the other a mother of twenty-nine, 7. 224 (anon.), related to 7. 743, Ant. Thess. GP 433. Similar beginnings e.g. 5. 174 (Mel. HE 4186), sleeping lover; 7. 29 (Ant. Sid. HE 270),

dead poet.

21  $\epsilon \tilde{\iota} \tau \iota \epsilon \mu$ .  $\phi \hat{\iota} \lambda o \epsilon \epsilon \hat{\iota} \epsilon (\tau \hat{\iota})$ ? The final sigma would be plausible in itself; but above it stands a long rising oblique unlike any other suspended letter in this piece (and certainly not suggesting tau). Perhaps, as Dr Rea suggests, the scribe wavered between the suspension  $\epsilon \epsilon^{\tau}$  and the full-blown symbol / (which he uses below, iv 26 and vii 21). In  $\mu$ ., neither  $\mu \varrho \iota$  nor  $\mu \eta$  seems to account for all the ink.

22  $\tau \rho \epsilon \iota_1^1 \epsilon \kappa_2^{23} \epsilon_1^4 \kappa \alpha_2^5 o \nu$ . The ink is reasonably clear. (1) might be gamma, pi, sigma; (2) apparently theta, and (3) perhaps the continuation of its crossbar (the spacing is confused by a split in the papyrus); (4) gamma or sigma; (5) probably delta, but with an unexplained extra flourish at the top left. Perhaps, as Dr Rea

suggests,  $\tau \rho \epsilon \hat{i} \xi \epsilon \kappa \theta \epsilon \xi \kappa \hat{a} \delta \sigma v$  (cf. v 12);  $\xi \kappa \theta \epsilon \epsilon$  the verb, unless for  $\epsilon \chi \theta \epsilon \epsilon$  (cf. vi 11).

23  $\epsilon \kappa \lambda a \pi \lambda a \pi a \nu \tau o$ ,  $\epsilon$ ( ). The initial sigma, apparently corrected or overwritten, stands a little indented, but there is no trace of ink before it; the dotted lambda might at a pinch be tau, the dotted pi, tau iota; the penultimate letter looks most like mu, but could be lambda or nu. If the scribe intended  $\delta \kappa \tau a \pi \lambda \hat{a}$  (Rea), it becomes difficult to reconstruct a hexameter; if the end was  $\pi a \nu \tau o \mu \epsilon (\delta \omega \nu)$  or the like, I can do nothing with the beginning.

24 Two lines lost below this, if the last line ranged with that of col. v.

Col. iv.  $1 \xi \acute{a}\nu \theta \iota \varrho \nu \varrho \acute{b}\kappa \mathring{\eta} \delta \epsilon \iota \nu (\varrho \acute{b}\kappa \mathring{\eta} \delta \epsilon \iota \nu)$ ? The first letter has a short high horizontal (unlikely, since this is the first line of the column, to be a paragraphus), with a squiggle below. If it is rightly taken as xi, we could think of the herb, or the town Xanthus, or the proper names  $\Xi \acute{a}\nu \theta \iota \iota \iota \iota$ . Philodemus calls his Xanthippe 'Xantho' and 'Xantharion',  $AP_5$ . 306  $(GP_3240)$ ; cf. l. 7 below; 'Xanthion' might belong in a similar context.

2 τὸν φίλον αἰςχύνη: the verb seems most likely, but the nominative or dative of the noun remain in play

(or the personification, AP 7. 450. 4 (Diosc. HE 1632)).

3 ἄνηςαι γλυκερῶν. The final nu, if rightly read, has been corrected. Preparation for a dinner, as in AP 5. 181 (Asclep. HE 920) and similar pieces (HE ii p. 132)? Another dinner in the next line.

- 4 αὔριον ϵἰς λειτήν δε. AP 11. 44 (Phld. GP 3302). The last word should be  $\epsilon\epsilon$ ; the scribe apparently wrote delta for sigma, though there is unexplained ink which might belong to a correction.
  - 5 ήμετέρας μούςας. The Muses, or the poetry they inspire, e.g. AP 5. 215. 2 (Mel. HE 4273).
  - 6 οὖτε φιλεῖς (οὖτ' ἐφίλεις) ἄλλον τιν'.
- 7 Ξανθὼ κηρόπλαςτε. AP 9. 570 (Phld. GP 3240). The papyrus confirms Huschke's certain correction: ξανθοκηρόπλαςτε cod.
- 8 οὐ μιτέω τὸ πόημα. Parallel in structure (and in fact an answer to?) AP 12. 43 (Call. HE 1041) ἐχθαίρω τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν . . . μιτέω (Brunck: μιτώ cod.) καὶ περίφοιτον ἐρώμενον.
  - 9 ήδη τοι τρίτον είπα.
  - 10 τον ειγώντα, Φιλαινί. AP 5. 4 (Phld. GP 3160).
- 11 εἰς ἀνέμους και . . ρ( ). The doubtful letters look most like ιδε. The first words suggest the familiar figure of 'casting to the winds', AP 7. 468. 8 (Mel. HE 4697), 5. 133. 4 (Maccius, GP 2497) ὅρκους δ' εἰς ἀνέμους τίθεμαι, Gow on Theoc. 22. 167.
- 12 τίς τἀμὰ κροκεοντα. Metre seems to exclude other articulations of ταμα. If τα is rightly read, it would be tempting to correct to κροκόεντα. Cf. vii 10.
  - 13 τον πρώτον Παφίη.
- 14  $\Pi$ aρθενόπης ἀνα... Above the second trace a suprascript letter, perhaps delta. The reference is presumably to the Siren or to her foundation Naples (as commonly in the Latin poets).
  - 15  $\Pi$ αρθενόπης  $\pi$ , ( ). The suspended letter looks most like an h-shaped eta.  $\pi\lambda\eta$  ( ) would be possible.
- 16 τὴν πρότερον θυμε( ). AP 10. 103 (Phld. GP 3310). P and Pl have θυμέλην. Gow-Page reject the word as corrupt; but it seems almost certain that the papyrus had it.
- 17 ψυχή μοι προλέ(γει). AP 5. 24, attributed to Philodemus in P and indirectly in Pl (τοῦ αὐτοῦ), but transferred to Meleager by Jacobs, whom Gow-Page follow (HE 4218). The papyrus strengthens Philodemus' claim, since the poems before and after are his.
- 18  $\epsilon v \theta \acute{a} \delta \epsilon \tau \mathring{\eta} \epsilon \tau \rho v \phi \epsilon (\rho \mathring{\eta} \epsilon)$ . AP 7. 222 (Phld. GP 3320). The raised final letter looks much more like hypsilon (as e.g. in ii 2) than epsilon.
- 19 Ἰνοῦς ὧ Μελικέρ $(\tau a)$ . AP 6. 349 (Phld. GP 3274). The scribe wrote ευνους; iota was added (by another hand?) above the hypsilon.
- 20 ζωροπότην ωρη or ωρη( ) (not -ποτειν, less probably ωραι). The noun Hedylus, HE 1843 (and AP 5. 226); the verb AP 9. 300. 6 (Adaeus, GP 32), 11. 25. 4 (Apollonid, GP 1282), 12. 49. 1 (Mel. HE 4598) (and v.l. at Call. Aet. fr. 178. 12). "ωρη or "ωρη?
- 21  $\delta\eta\mu$ ,  $\tau\iota\epsilon$ ... After mu, perhaps a lopsided omega; at the end apparently tau and eta. One interpretation would be  $\Delta\eta\mu\dot{\omega}$   $\tau\iota\epsilon$   $\tau\hat{\eta}$ ; various Demos appearin AP, hetaerae especially, and the name appealed especially to Philo-demus, AP 5. 115  $(GP\ 3196)$ , cf. 12. 173  $(GP\ 3254)$   $\Delta\eta\mu\dot{\omega}$   $\mu\epsilon$   $\kappa\tau\epsilon\dot{\nu}\epsilon\iota$ , which cannot be read here.
- 22 νηὸν cυλήcαcac( ). The writing rises at the end; it is not clear whether the final sigma was meant to be suspended.
- 23 τέςταρες εμτ. ραι. The doubtful letter looks most like alpha; if so, εἰτάραι? εἰτ' Ἀραί (a deliberate sophistication of the usual trio)? Not omega (ὧραι); not εἰτιν ἀγῶνες or ἔρωτες (ΑΡ 9. 357, 585).
- 24  $A\tau\theta$ íδος &  $\Pi a\phi$ ίη. Aphrodite rivals Athena (AP 16. 169. 3)? Aphrodite sculpted by the Athenian Praxiteles? But in AP 6. 17 (Lucianus) a hetaera named Atthis makes a dedication to Aphrodite.
- 25 ρι, τικαιcaρ. The first trace looks most like lambda, but traces of ink below would allow delta; then probably omicron, with a linking stroke to the right, rather than alpha. οἶδ' ὅτι Καῖcaρ (or Καίcaρ ()?), perhaps, 'Caesar' nominative or vocative. But e.g. καὶ Cάρ(δεις) (suggested by Dr Holford-Strevens) is not excluded.
- 26 τές<br/>cαρα Κύπριδός (ἐςτι). Among many possibilities, the four Erotes (AP 9. 585) or the four Graces (e.g. AP 5. 95) might be relevant.
  - 27 πτωχὸν ἔχουςα.
- 28 ωμολόγης ήξειν. AP 5. 150 (Asclep. HE 850). The ascription was added in P by the corrector (Pl does not have the epigram).
  - 29 αὖται (αὐταὶ) τὰς χρυτέου. The first sigma is damaged, but not iota.
- 30 ἐκτετόνημαι, Ἔρως. I cannot see another reading; but no verb ἐκτονέω is attested, and the adjective ἔκτονος, from which it would be formed, is itself rare and dubious (Clem. Strom. 2. 2, p. 180. 4; suspect reading at PRossGeorg V 14.11). The norm is ἐκτενής. If the form is allowed, it might mean 'I am tense'

 $(psychologically, or, like \`{\epsilon} \nu \tau \acute{\epsilon} \tau a cau AP~ 12.~ 232.~ 2, physiologically) or `I~ am floored', e.g.~ AP~ 9.~ 441.~ 4~ (Palladas);$ 

Eros as wrestler, HE ii, p. 13. 31 μῆλον ἐγὼ πεμ. Two epigrams begin μῆλον ἐγώ, and in both it is the apple which speaks: 6. 252 (Antiphil. GP 791), 5. 80 (FGE 594). The second is ascribed by implication ( $\tau$ οῦ αὐτοῦ) to Plato in P, to Philodemus in Pl (and its pair, AP 5. 79, to Plato in P, to no one in Pl); it reads μῆλον ἐγώ· βάλλει με φιλῶν c ε τις ἀλλ' ἐπίνενςον, Ε ανθίππη· κἀγὼ καὶ cừ μαραινόμεθα. There is at least some chance that the papyrus has this epigram, with πέμπει for βάλλει; that would strengthen Philodemus' claim (I have not identified this incipit elsewhere in the papyrus); the argument (FGE p. 163) that his Xanthippe (AP 5. 131 = GP 3225) was misidentified as Socrates' wife would explain the transfer. The chance becomes a certainty when it is observed (by Professor Cameron) that the translator of Epigr. Bob. 32 (the next oldest witness) found πέμπει in his text:  $malum\ ego$ :  $mittit\ me\ quidam\ tibi\ munus\ amator$ .

32 & εφύραι κεφαλής. Cf. v 20 (Philodemus)

33  $\theta \dot{\nu} \epsilon \tau \epsilon \tau \hat{\eta} N \epsilon \mu \dot{\epsilon}(\epsilon \iota)$ ? A cult act (say, at Rhamnus,  $\Lambda P$  16. 221-2)? or an apotropaic gesture? This was probably the foot of the column (a line higher than col. v). No ink can be seen below 33; it is true that the surface is damaged, but, since some ink from 33 strays on to it, the damage must be ancient.

Col. v. 1  $\tau \dot{o} \nu \ K \rho o \nu i \delta(\eta \nu)$ ,  $-\delta(ao)$ ,  $-\delta(\eta)$ . Zeus, less often Poseidon or Hades.

2 τὸ γράψαι πο( ).

3 νυκτερι(νή). AP 5. 123 (Phld. GP 3212)? But even among known epigrams one other, AP 12. 250 (Strato), begins with the same letters.

 $4 \delta \epsilon \hat{v} \theta$ '  $\hat{\omega} \delta$ '. This combination does not occur in AP, nor does  $\delta \epsilon \hat{v} \rho$ '  $\hat{\omega} \delta \epsilon$ .

5 χθιζός.

6  $\epsilon i \chi \epsilon \nu \delta \eta \mu o($  ). A name like Demophilus most likely? There is no sign of  $\beta$  in the left margin, although

the surface is reasonably preserved.

7 πειθιμαρει. (a) πείθ(ε). But then what? (b) πείθι for πίθι. AP 11. 56 and 12. 50 (Asclep. HE 880) similarly begin πίν(ε); πίθ' is a likely correction at 9. 315. 2 (Nic. HE 2772). But then what? Μαρεί(νε)? Μαρει(ώτην)? Mareotic wine would suit πίθι; the adjective seems normally to be Μαρεώτης, but Μαρει- is attested by Steph. Byz. s.v. Αζειῶται (I owe the reference to Professor Lloyd-Jones). This was a clear, light wine (Strab. 17. 1. 14); but, being Egyptian, might appear in more sinister contexts (Hor. C. 1. 37. 14).

8 ἀμφότεροι πιθα(). The suspended letter, a flattened V-shape, occurs again in 17 and 22, where context shows that it represents alpha.  $\pi\iota\theta$ ανός, - $\omega$ c in erotic contexts HE 824 and n., 'plausible'; at AP 11. 4. 1,

Parmenion, GP 2612, apparently 'complaisant'.

9 παίδα πολυτρη( ). πολυτρήρων, πολύτρητος are available; the latter, in AP, applies to rocks, sieves, panpipes, and honeycombs.

10 οὐκ ἔα θῆλυ, θηλυ $(\tau \epsilon \rho)$ ? For the short alpha—if this articulation is correct—see Pfeiffer on Call. fr.

384. 32.

11 ἢρά $c\theta$ ην, τίς δ'  $o(i\chi i)$ ; AP 5. 112 (Phld. GP 3268). It seems odd (a sign of incomprehension?) that the scribe chose to end with the first vowel of a diphthong. There is in fact some damage to the papyrus surface above; but no sign of ink emerging from it, such as a suspended letter would normally leave.

12 τρεῖς κυάθους. Toasts at a party, as e.g. AP 5. 110 (Argentarius, GP 1333). Anacr. PMG 383 οἰνοχόει . . . τρικύαθον κελέβην ἔχουςα; Alexis fr. 111. 3 K τοὺς τρεῖς δ' ἔρωτος (κυάθους), quoted by Kiessling-Heinze on Hor.

C. 3. 19. 11 f. tribus . . . cyathis.

13 δακρύεις. AP 5. 306 (Phld. GP 3236) is the only epigram in AP that begins so.

14  $\psi$ αλμοὶ καὶ λαλιή. AP 5. 131 (Phld. GP 3224):  $\psi$ αλμός codd. For the plural cf. 9. 409. 2 (Antiphan. GP 754).

15 ἤρετέ μοι κομψή. For the first word cf. AP 11. 132. 2 (Lucillius); for κομψή 5. 308. 1 (Antiphilus or

Philodemus, GP 865) = vi 4 (the only use of the word in AP).

16 νάρδω κ(ai) cμύρνη. Both unguents: for nard see HE 3968 n. (the perfumed oil sent to a lady, AP 6. 250. 6 (GP 788); offered to Isis, 6. 231. 5 (GP 2777)); on myrrh, GP 3288-9 n. (one of the delights of the high life). The marginal numeral: κa is certainly suggested (Rea); not  $\iotaβ$ .

17 ἀγρὸς καὶ  $c\tau\epsilon\phi a(\nu)$ . 'Farm' and 'country' are the usual meanings: provides garlands (and other

things for the party)? contrasts with the urban luxury of 16?

18  $\Pi \rho \omega \tau \acute{\epsilon} o \epsilon \Phi \acute{a} \rho \epsilon$ . The genitive in - $\acute{\epsilon} o \epsilon$  is epic (Od. 4. 365, QS 3. 303, scanned as a dactyl); but it will not scan in a hexameter, even if contracted to a spondee, given that the first syllable of Pharos is always short. Probably the poet had written  $\Pi \rho \omega \tau \hat{\eta} o \epsilon$ , cf. AP 7. 78. 6 (Dionys. HE 1446). Epigrams on the Pharos by

Posidippus ( $HE_{3100}$ ), and Diodorus ( $AP_{9.60} = GP_{2184}$ ); but the island may be relevant in other contexts ( $AP_{7.169} = FGE_{1360}$ ).

19 παρθένιος, the rho corrected from nu rather than the other way about. Noun, AP 7. 384. 7 (GP 1475), adjective, 9. 706. 3 (GP 523), or name (the only examples in AP may or do refer to the poet). One of the Vienna epigrams began Παρθένιός μοι κομψὸς ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίης (P Vindob. 4).

20 ω ποδός. AP 5. 132 (Phld. GP 3228).

21 Νικαρέτη πείθει. AP 5. 153 (Asclep. HE 820) begins Nικαρέτης; there and 6. 285. 2 (HE 2738) a hetaera, 7. 166 (HE 1707) a respectable mother. AP 5. 38 (Nicarchus II) begins εὐμεγέθης πείθει με καλή γυνή. The marginal number may be  $\gamma$ , crossed though or covered by a check-mark; in 22 and 23 too there seems to be more ink than required by simple check-marks, but I cannot recognize  $\delta$  and  $\epsilon$ .

22  $\mu\iota\epsilon\hat{\omega}$  καὶ  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\phi\acute{a}(vo\nu\epsilon)$ . The poet gives up parties, like Philodemus (AP 11. 34. 1-4 = GP 3288)?

23 τοὖς φέρε καὶ πα( ). If this articulation is right, the 'ear' may be literal, as in Hipp. fr. 118. 5 W. τοὖς μοι παράςχες, Plat. Rep. 531 A παραβάλλοντες τὰ ὧτα, or edible, as in the dinner-party scene, AP 5. 181. 8 (Asclep. HE 927), rendered 'sea-urchin' or 'sow's ear' (only one here, a meagre provision). But τοὖς is also available: Dr Holford-Strevens suggests e.g. τοὖς φέρε καὶ πά(λι)  $\langle \tau ο ὑς \rangle$ .

24 ἄιδειν κ(αὶ) ψάλλειν. Cf.  $\overrightarrow{AP}$  5. 131. 1 (Phld.  $\overrightarrow{GP}$  3224) ψαλμός καὶ . . . ἀιδή; 7. 221. 3f. μετ' ἀοιδῆς/

ψαλμός (an accomplished hetaera).

25 οὐδέπω ἐμβεβλη( ). -(κα), -(μαι) etc.

26 μέλλει μοι.

27 γεινώς κω (γείνως κ'ω) ταλε, εψν. For the first word cf. vii 13 below; after  $\lambda \epsilon$ , gamma or tau (or corrected iota)? y, or possibly eta?

28 ήδὺ θέρευς ἔλκει. Similarly Asclep. AP 5. 169. 1 (HE 812), ήδὺ θέρους διψώντι χιὼν ποτόν. ἔλκει seems

more likely to be the verb than the noun.

29 τὴν ἀπὸ παλλιόλου. Pallium and palliolum are not attested in literary Greek elsewhere; but they were current in the normal speech of the Roman period, as the Fathers (Lampe, PGL παλ(λ)ίου) and the papyrus documents (Daris, Lessico latino παλλιόλιου, παλλίολου, πάλλιου) make clear. Latin writers, at least, associate this Greek garment with Greek practices—comedy, philosophy, immorality; only in Christian usage does it become respectable. One approach is suggested by Mart. 9. 32. 1 hanc volo, quae facilis, quae palliolata vagatur; Philodemus may have treated the theme, see Hor. Serm. 1. 2. 119 ff.

30 ήδη πολλάκις.

- 31  $\delta \pi \rho i \nu \epsilon \gamma \omega \kappa(ai)$ . AP 11. 30 (Phld. GP 3328)? But the same first words in 7. 172 (Ant. Sid. HE 312). At iii 7 above, a deleted entry, the scribe adds  $\pi \epsilon \nu \tau \epsilon$ , which makes it certainly Philodemus.
- 32 Αἰςώπου τινά. Also at iii 8, deleted. Αἰςώπου τινὰ  $\langle μῦθον \rangle$ , as Dr Holford-Strevens suggests? No mention of Aesop in AP, except 16. 332 (Agathias), on a statue of him by Lysippus. This was probably the foot of the column; the papyrus below is broken, but line-ends would show, unless the lines were exceptionally short.

Col. vi. 1 μή μοι φάρμακα? AP 5. 225. 4 ἤπιά μοι πάςςει φάρμακα. The epigrammatists deal much in drugs against grief (5. 130) and love (5. 113, 116, 221).

- 2 ....λη καὶ τη. At first sight the beginning looks like ρονλλη (but then horizontal ink to the right of the supposed rho must be explained as an (uncharacteristic) linking-stroke) or βονλλη (but one might expect to see more of the lower loop); in either case we should have to think of Latin (rulla is very rare, and I find no example of Rulla; bulla or Bulla, as place- or personal name, might serve). I have tried to persuade myself that εἰ καλή could be read; but, though the initial epsilon is not impossible, the other dotted letters would all be anomalous.
- 3 , αυται κύριε. If the alpha is rightly read, the obvious possibilities are καῦται, παῦται, ψαῦται (κλ-, θρ-probably too long). The third seems excluded by the trace; the first is better than the second, since (a) there seems to be ink extending to the right at mid-height and (b) the cap of pi would be expected to show. κύριος occurs only once in the classical epigrams of AP (9. 334. 4 = HE 2894), and then not in the vocative.

4 ή κομψή. AP 5. 308 (GP 865). Disputed attribution: P has τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Antiphilus) [C]  $\ddot{\eta}$  μᾶλλον

Φιλοδήμου, Pl τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Philodemus).

5 . . καιεμηκα . ω. The first letter apparently epsilon, overwritten with heavy ink rising well above the line; the second letter might be taken for a florid kappa, or a corrected iota (but the tail is short) sigma: εις corrected to οις (Rea) or ης? Then καὶ ἐμὴ (ἐμῆ) καμω or (perhaps better) κἀχώ.

6 τίς ς' ἐκέλευςε.

7  $\delta \rho \chi \epsilon i \epsilon \theta \epsilon \gamma \lambda a \phi v(\rho)$ ). See vii 14. Hypsilon is written directly above phi; therefore a heavy trace to its

right, on the edge, must be accident, not a suspended letter.

8  $\psi\acute{a}\lambda\lambda\epsilon$  ( $\psi\acute{a}\lambda\lambda'\epsilon$ )  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ . ( ). The last letter most suggests a very cursive pi, though nu (no example of this form elsewhere) and sigma (normally less flattened) could be considered as well; it is not raised, so that the word could, but need not, end here.

9  $\psi$ á $\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$  T $\kappa\alpha\rho\epsilon$ . AP 16. 107-8 are epigrams by Julian of Egypt on a statue of Icarus; otherwise it is rare as a personal name. The island, cunctis Baccho iucundior hospes/ Icarus (Tib. 3. 7. 9), might be relevant to festive music.

10 οἶνος καὶ ροδινοι . -οι not -αι, it seems; the ink following, a heavy descending oblique, seems not to be a letter. In AP only Asclepiades uses ρόδινος (ρόδεος is commoner), 5. 185. 5 (HE 936), 5. 181. 2 (HE 921) πέντε ετεφάνους τῶν ροδίνων. Hedylus begins similarly AP 5. 199 (HE 1831), οἶνος καὶ προπόςεις. The best parties have wine and roses: Hor. G. 1. 36. 15 etc., Mart. 3. 68. 5 deposito post vina rosasque pudore.

11 ἐκθὲς ἔδωκεν. Kappa for chi before another aspirate: Gignac i 88 gives a few examples from documents of the Roman period; Crönert, Memoria Graeca Herculanensis 88 f. found similar spellings in the papyrus of

Philodemus, de ira.

12 ἰξὸν ἔχεις τόν (ἔχει ςτον-?). Mel. AP 5. 96. 1 (HE 4296) begins ἰξὸν ἔχεις τὸ φίλημα. See ii 12 n. on lime and love.

13  $\tau a \hat{v} \tau a$ ,  $o \theta \epsilon_{\perp}$ ,  $\tau a \hat{v} \tau a$  rather than  $\tau a \hat{v} \tau'$  a-, since the extended tail of the second alpha suggests a wordbreak. After that I had tried  $\pi o \theta \epsilon_{\ell}$  ( $\pi \delta \theta \epsilon_{\ell}$ ), but pi seems excluded by a horizontal trace which crosses it at midheight.

14 ἡνίκα μεν... [. Philip AP 11. 36 (GP 3027) begins ἡνίκα μὲν καλὸς ἡς; μέν is no doubt likely here, but καλ [does not suit the remains at the line-end.

15 οὐκ ἔλεχον  $\nu$ . []? Gamma might be tau. Rufin. AP 5. 21 (vii Page) begins οὐκ ἔλεγον, Προδίκη, γηράςκομεν; But the second word might be a noun. At the end, perhaps parts of two letters: hypsilon, and then e.g. sigma? or eta, and then what?

16 παῦε φιληλακατη[. φιληλάκατος is attested for Antip. Sid. AP 6. 160. 5 (ΗΕ 186), καὶ τόνδε φιληλάκατον

καλαθίςκον. But the feminine termination points rather to  $\phi$ ίλ' ἢλακάτη[.

17 .....ραι..... The first letter perhaps epsilon, then a high horizontal and part of vertical as of tau. After the iota, probably kappa; then one wide or two normal letters, then at the end perhaps a straggling nu (but e.g. omega also possible?).

18 αψτ[οῦ] μοι cτέφα(νοι). AP 5. 145 (Asclep. HE 860). Copied in full in i 15-20.

19 ἀρχόμεθα ψυχή (or ψυχή?). Lucill. AP 11. 134 begins ἀρχόμεθ', 'Hλιόδωρε; ποιήματα παίζομεν οὕτω . . .; ψυχή might be nominative (with stop before); or vocative, as Philodemus AP 5. 131. 2f. (GP 3225) πῦρ ἄρτι καταρχόμενον, / ὧ ψυχή, φλέξει  $c\epsilon$ , Maccius, AP 9. 411. 5 (GP 2486) εἴκωμεν, ψυχή, πεπαλαίτμεθα, cf. 3723 23.

#### Back

	col. vii		col. viii
	μηπ νη . εινου		ηνψηχηπιθαν, ς
	ηδη, , πεμπτον		κυπριγαληναιη
	ωλεταπανθρωπων		<i>ενταυτητηινυκτι</i>
	$\mu\eta\pi$ ροτερονφι $^{\lambda}$		ενχειρ αιης
5	μειςωπανταιει	5	εγλεγομαικαλα
	οιδοτι καιτοπρο <sup>ς</sup>		ηδυλιονπεφιληκα
	ηραςθηνδημους		οιδαςτονθυ κο
	νυνοψωνηται		ειπωχαιρεκα
	$\mu\eta u$ , $ar{\pi}$ , ,		καινυκτοςμεςατης
Ю	ουματε, κροκεοντα	10	$\psi_{\dots, \epsilon c  au \iota}$

ειτιποτενθν. .αι... λιτονςοιτουτα...ς χρυςηκερ[]... εχο. κυπριδικαι....με γεινω..[,]χαριεςςα ορχειςθε λαφυρίς 15 χαιρες.[]..... πεμπτης. τιγμοι κραμβηγαρτεμι  $\nu$ i $\kappa$ ... $\nu$ c $i\pi$ ,  $\omega$ c μημε. . μημε. α ευχαριζεςτιφιλίν... 20 ηδηκαιροδον/ εξηδεινηδη. μουκιαδα ειμεφιλοι...ης εξηξοντα.... 25

Col. vii. 1  $\mu \dot{\eta} \pi$ .  $\nu \eta \chi \epsilon i \nu \rho \nu$ ? But if this articulation is right, I can make nothing of the second word: possibly a rho after the pi (not  $\pi \dot{\rho} \rho \nu \eta$  or  $\pi \dot{\rho} \nu \dot{\eta}$ ):  $\Pi \rho \dot{\rho} \chi \nu \eta$  could be considered, but not  $\Pi \rho \dot{\rho} \kappa \nu \eta$ . (Another phonetic spelling, cf. Gignac, Grammar i 76 ff? Even in Latin there seems to be no substantive evidence for Progna, see Housman, Classical Papers iii 1144 ff.).  $\gamma \dot{\nu} \nu \dot{\rho}$ 0 three times in AP, but not  $\gamma \dot{\nu} \nu \dot{\nu} \nu \dot{\nu}$ 0.

2 ἥδη ... πέμπτον. μη looks likely, but I doubt whether μοι is excluded (in which case 'fifth' may be part

of the writer's or subject's age, as e.g. AP 7. 601).

3 ὤλετ' ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων (ἀπανθρώπων). ΑΡ 7. 403. 1-3 (Argentarius, GP 1477) ψύλλος . . . ἐνθάδε κεῖται/ αἰςχρὸν ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων μισθὸν ἐνεγκάμενος.

4 μη πρότερον φιλ( ). See ii 15.

5 μιςῶ πάντ' αἰεί.

6 οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ τὸ πρός (ωπον?). The same first foot in AP 12. 148 (Call. HE 1071), 9. 577 (Ptol. FGE 466), as well as iv 25 above.

7 ἢράςθην Δημοῦς. ΑΡ 5. 115 (Phld. GP 3196).

- 8 νῦν ὀψωνῆσαι. The infinitive, that is, rather than the optative (or the middle imperative)? Another dinner, as in iv 3?
- 9 μην.π... After nu, perhaps omega (rather than iota nu or even eta sigma); after pi, apparently omicron.  $\mu \dot{\eta} \nu \dot{\omega}$ ,  $\mu \dot{\eta} \nu \dot{\omega}$ ,  $\mu \dot{\eta} \nu \dot{\omega}$ ,  $\mu \dot{\eta} \nu \dot{\omega}$ , do not promise much; Professor Lloyd-Jones suggests a form of  $\mu \eta \nu \omega \pi \delta c$  (new, but cf.  $\dot{a} c \tau \epsilon \rho \omega \pi \delta c$ ,  $\dot{\eta} \lambda \iota \omega \pi \delta c$ ).

10 οὐ μὰ τεὰ κροκεοντα? ii 26 and two epigrams in AP begin with the negative oath. For the last word see iv 12; again a miswriting of κροκόεντα? If the oath invokes a god, it might be Dionysus or Priapus, crowned with

ivy, AP 13. 29. 6, 9. 338. 3 (HE 2716, where see n., 3474), or Dawn κροκόπεπλος.

11  $\epsilon_i^{\mu} \tau_i^{\mu} \pi \sigma \tau^{\nu}$   $\epsilon_i^{\nu} \theta_i^{\nu} \eta_i \tau a_{i}^{\mu} \epsilon_i^{\nu}$ ? The first iota looks short (but apparently not  $\epsilon c \tau \iota$ ). Since theta nu seems secure, choice in what follows is limited; but the dotted letters are all dubious readings.  $\epsilon_i^{\nu} \theta_i^{\nu} \eta_i \tau \sigma_i^{\nu} \epsilon_i^{\nu}$  at this

place AP 7. 148. 3.

12 χρυςηκερ[]... cχο. At the end sigma or (if ink further right is not accidental) nu? That looks like word-end; among limited possibilities, μόςχου would suit the earlier traces. Since the letters before rho suggest kappa epsilon, χρυςόκερω μόςχου is very tempting: AP 6. 231. 8 (Philip, GP 2780) has χρυςόκερων κεμάδα of a sacrificial victim (see n.). But, if the accusative in -ω is legitimate, given normal variations within the Attic declension, there is the palaeographic difficulty: the letter before  $\kappa$  was very probably eta, certainly not omicron.

13 γεινώς  $\kappa[\omega]$ , χαρίες ca. AP 5. 107 (Phld. GP 3188). (Ascribed to Philodemus in P: Pl ἄδηλον.)

14  $\partial \rho \chi \epsilon i c \theta \epsilon \chi \lambda a \phi v \rho$ , c. Already vi 7, where the second word is abbreviated; here the penultimate letter, V-shaped, looks most like v; of grammatically more plausible vowels, o (open-topped, as often, but anomalously angular) is easier to read than a or  $\omega$ . A smooth performer, a beardless boy (AP 11. 168. 4 = GP 768), a hollow lyre (Od. 17. 262) might be relevant; or the piper Glaphyrus, celebrated by Antip. Thess. AP 9. 266, 517 (GP 93, 681).

15 χαῖρε τῷ. καὶ τῷ χε? AP 5. 46 (Phld. GP 3180). Since the first two words are pretty certainly read, and the rest well suits the remains, the identification seems likely. The difficulty is in the spacing: before και there must have been a blank (it would fall on an area of fibres already damaged in ancient times; but elsewhere the scribe series to write on regardless)—ideal to punctuate the dialogue, but the scribe normally takes no note of

such things.

16 πέμπτης ἐςτίν μοι? A good reading, but clearly the metrical awkwardness makes it suspect. The fifth hour AP 5. 183. 6 (HE 3099), 9. 640; the fifth day—and so on.

17 κράμβην Άρτεμί(δωρος). ΑΡ 11. 35 (Phld. GP 3296).

18 νικ..., νειπ. ως. After kappa, straggly remains; omicron or omega, then nu? Then possibly chi rho, but not Χρύειππος.

19  $\mu \dot{\eta}$   $\mu \dot{\epsilon} \gamma \alpha$ ,  $\mu \dot{\eta}$   $\mu \dot{\epsilon} \gamma \alpha$  or  $\mu \dot{\epsilon} \gamma \alpha (\lambda)$ ? The gammas could be taus.

20 εὔχαρίς ἐςτι Φίλινγα? Φίλινγα (Rea) suits the remains better than Φιλῖνος. The name may be vocative, as in the similar beginning AP 5. 258 (Paulus Silentiarius), πρόκριτός ἐςτι, Φίλιννα, τεὴ ῥυτὶς ἢ ὀπὸς ἤβης/ πάςης. εὕχαρις occurs only once in AP, of Eros, 9. 666. 1 οὐ μέγας . . . ἀλλὶ εὕχαρις.

21 ήδη καὶ ρόδον (ἐςτί). AP 9. 412 (Phld. GP 3280).

22 ἐξήδεινηδη . ἐξ-, ἔξ, ἥδει ν-, ἤδειν (first or third person?), ἥδειν, ἡ δειν', and much else. The last letter looks most like nu, or possibly lambda omicron (omicron raised); the latter would allow e.g. ἡ δηλο(ν), ἡ  $\Delta \hat{\eta} \lambda \phi(\epsilon)$ .

23 μουκιαδα. I can do nothing with this, unless it represents a Greek adjective (cf. Appias, Daunias) or patronymic (cf. Memmiades etc.) to the Roman name Mucius.

24  $\epsilon \tilde{t}$   $\mu \epsilon$   $\phi \iota \lambda o \iota$ ...  $\eta \epsilon$ . The first of the doubtful letters is nu or possibly mu; the iota before it is dim, but certainly ink (that excludes  $\phi \iota \lambda o \mu \mu \epsilon \iota \delta \eta \epsilon$ , where in any case delta does not suit).  $\phi \iota \lambda o \iota \ell$   $\phi \iota \lambda o \iota \lambda o \iota \ell$   $\phi \iota \lambda o \iota \lambda o \iota \ell$   $\phi \iota \lambda o \iota \lambda o \iota \lambda o \iota \lambda o \iota$   $\phi \iota \lambda o \iota$   $\phi \iota \lambda o \iota \lambda o$ 

25 ξήξοντα..... AP 5. 13 (Phld. GP 3166)? The second xi is not a typical phonetic error; I assume it is simple carelessness. But there is the added difficulty of the traces at the end; what little remains does not suit  $\tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \hat{\iota}$  particularly: just offsets?

Col. viii. 1  $\eta \nu \psi \dot{\eta} \chi \eta \pi \iota \theta a \nu$ , c.  $\pi \iota \theta a \nu \dot{\alpha} c$  looks the likeliest reading, but - $\hat{\omega} c$  may not be excluded; for the word see on v 8. 'Stroke'?

2 Κύπρι γαληναίη. AP 10. 21 (Phld. GP 3246).

3 ἐν ταύτη τῆι νυκτί. Ink above the first letter, which I have taken, doubtfully, as a paragraphus.

4 ἔνχει Ῥωμαίης? Unexplained ink in the left margin. Four epigrams in AP begin ἔγχει; the name of the toast may follow in the genitive (see HE ii p. 631), AP 5. 110, Argentarius (GP 1333), ἔγχει Λυcιδίκης κυάθους δέκα, Mel. 5. 137 (HE 4228). Rhomaia might be a name; or a name or noun may follow.

5 ἐγλέγομαι καλά. 'I pick out for myself' (Plat. Symp. 1980 τὰ κάλλιστα ἐκλεγομένους)? AP 9. 72. 4 (GP 612)

(Heracles), εν θύος ἐκλέγεται, 5. 18. 1 (Rufin. v Page).

6 'Ηδύλιον πεφίληκα. Hedylium is one of Ballio's girls, Plaut. Pseud. 188; Maccius finds her irresistible,

AP 5. 133 (GP 2494).

- 7 οίδας τὸν (οίδ', οίδ', οίδ', ἀςτόν) θυ, κο. The strokes at the end most suggest ου; but that seems to exclude any metrical reading. Best then to assume that they represent a nu with an additional flourish at the lower left, i.e. read τόν θ' ὑϊκόν (Rea).
- 8  $\epsilon$ ίπω Χαῖρ $\epsilon$  κα(λή?); Thus, deliberative subjunctive, as e.g. AP 5. 108. 1 (HE 1841), rather than  $\epsilon$ ί πω? Cf. vii 15, and Page on Rufin. x 1.

9 καὶ νυκτὸς μεςάτης. AP 5. 120 (Phld. GP 3202).

10 ω, ... εςτι. ω, ... c μ' έςτι would be possible.

11 λιτόν coι τοῦτ' α...ς. αὖτις perhaps (not -τος), but hypsilon and tau are not very satisfactory as readings; my only other idea is  $\alpha\langle \hat{v}\rangle\theta_{i}$ ς. 'Humble' gifts AP 6. 230. 5 (GP 3362), 190. 2 (FGE 182); cf. iv 4.

12 Κύπριδι καὶ ..... με? Assuming this to be a dedication (cf. Argentarius, AP 6. 248 (GP 1419), beginning with the same word), and if  $\mu\epsilon$  is rightly read and interpreted as the object of dedication, the word between should be another dative. I have tried Xάρι cιν; the first four letters certainly suit the remains, but the other three would be rather cramped.

fr. 2	fr. 3
 ] φ [ ]. νδεκα[	 ]. ουμαι, [ ]μαι, [
]αικακο[ ]ρημα <i>ς</i> ι. [	]. ριε[ ] . [
5 ], τειδες, [ ], ρηςεις, [	
], ώνω. [ αυτοςα [ ειδεθελε[	
10 αλλοεχώ[ τηνελ. [	
$ \frac{\zeta \epsilon v c \tau a}{o v \tau o c o \tau} [ $ foot	

Fr. 2

 $[1, \dots, 0, \dots]$ : second and third traces perhaps tau iota; after omicron, lower left quadrant of oval (sigma etc.); then remains of horizontal at line-level, and foot of upright.

2 ].: point on edge, just below the tops of letters, e.g.  $\epsilon \nu \delta \epsilon \kappa \alpha$ [.

3 ν]αὶ κακο[ or the like? Below the first alpha the end of a paragraphus?

4. [: upright, with oblique crossing at the top (nu?).  $\chi$ ] $\rho\eta\mu\alpha c\nu$ [? cf. fr. 1 iii 18.

5 ].: upright. [: left side of gamma or pi (rather than tau?).

6 ]: short rising oblique, as of hypsilon, damage below (so that e.g. kappa, chi not excluded?), e.g.

 $\epsilon$ ] $\nu \rho \eta c \epsilon \iota(c)$ . [: left side of chi?

7 ].: point on the edge, above the tops of letters: letter, or paragraphus? [: gamma-shaped, but with further ink joining on right, i.e. a narrow pi? Fr. 1 iii 19 has the incipit  $\phi\omega\nu\omega$   $\gamma\nu\omega\kappa\omega\nu$ ; that is perhaps possible, but phi would not suit the first trace (if it is a letter), and gamma iota is less suited to the last.  $\kappa\omega\nu\omega\pi$  [ would be possible.

8 ... [: lambda, then an upright on the edge? or simply nu? If the second, note AP 9. 403. 1 (GP 2530), αὐτὸς ἄναξ κτλ; the author, Maecius/Maccius, was apparently early enough to be included in Philip's Garland.

9-12 Four lines set off by paragraphi: a group of incipits, or one poem?

9  $\epsilon i \delta \epsilon$ ? The conjunction at first sight does not suit the beginning of a poem; perhaps the wispy paragraphus, by contrast with the forked one below, simply marks a section (Hes. Op. 106  $\epsilon i \delta$ )  $\epsilon \theta \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \iota \epsilon$ ,  $\epsilon \tau \epsilon \rho o \nu \ldots$ ). Or  $\epsilon i \delta \epsilon$  or the like?

10 ἄλλο (ἀλλ' ὅ) ἔχω[: the reading is certain; and I cannot find an articulation which would remove the hiatus. If ἄλλο has strayed in from a heading, we have still to explain  $\epsilon_{\chi}\omega$ [.

II [: first part of gamma or pi.  $\tau \dot{\eta} \nu \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \pi$ [?

12  $Z\epsilon\hat{v}$ ,  $Z\epsilon\acute{v}c$ . [: probably the left hand part of mu.

13 οδτος δ  $\tau$ [? Cf. fr. 1 ii 9 above. But similar beginnings are common, see FGE p. 316.

Fr. 3

1 ]: curving right-hand side, as of alpha, lambda, mu. [: epsilon or theta.

2 . [: left-hand arc, omicron, sigma, or omega.

3]: two high traces, suggesting the upper extremities of hypsilon or chi, but rather close together, and another below touching the tail of rho. If hypsilon ( $\kappa$ ] $\nu\rho\iota\epsilon$ , cf. fr. 1 vi 3), the tail must curl to the right. Below the descender of rho, a horizontal trace, not part of the descender? and yet too far in to belong to a paragraphus?

4 ]. [: upper left of hypsilon or chi? Before it space for one letter, where the papyrus is intact in the upper

half of the line but stripped below.

## 3725. EPIGRAMS

 $38 \ 3B.86/D(1) + K(2)a$ 

Fr. 16.2 × 11 cm

First -second century

Three fragments, written across the fibres; on the other side, along the fibres and upside-down in relation to 3725, are scrappy remains of an account or register. The script, smaller in frr. 2–3 than in fr. 1, belongs to the type exemplified by *GLH* 11a (Ninus Romance, before c.100 AD) and by Schubart, *Pal.* fig. 81 (later than AD 81); it is approximately bilinear, and without serifs; characteristic letters are the pear-shaped theta, and epsilon with the crossbar detached and ligatured to the next stroke. I should assign it to the late first, or early second, century. The scribe uses no lectional signs.

The text, so far as can be seen, consists of epigrams. Two are identifiable:  $AP_{5.40}$ , 11. 241 appear consecutively in fr. 1 ii 1-12. Each epigram has a heading, either (i)  $\tilde{\epsilon}\pi i$ ... or (ii)  $\delta\mu oi\omega c$ . (i) clearly refers to subject-matter; similar headings have been restored in an epigram papyrus of iii BC, Suppl. Hell. 985; it is a question how far the lemmata of AP derive from such early practice (A. S. F. Gow, The Greek Anthology: Sources and Ascriptions (1958) 17f.). In this context (ii) must mean 'on a similar theme', not 'by the same author'; papyri more usually have  $\ddot{a}\lambda\lambda o$  in this sense (Suppl. Hell. 973. 8-11 n.), but  $\delta\mu oi\omega c$  recurs (rarely) in AP (Gow, op. cit. 29).

Since 3725 has subject-headings, not author-headings like those in IV 662, we could infer that it represents, not an anthology, but a single epigrammatist: so PKöln V 204 (Mnasalces) and XLVII 3324 (Meleager). AP assigns 11. 241 directly, and 5. 40 indirectly ( $\tau o\hat{v}$   $a\hat{v}\tau o\hat{v}$ ), to 'Nicarchus', that is, on the normal assumption that the one name covers two different poets, to Nicarchus II (HE ii p. 425). This Nicarchus imitates Lucillius; Lucillius dedicated his second book to Nero (AP 9. 572), probably early in the reign (Cichorius,  $R\ddot{o}$ mische Studien 372-4; disputed by L. Robert, Entretiens de la Fondation Hardt 14 (1967) 208 f.). Nicarchus II therefore worked no earlier than the second half of the first century; 3725 shows that he worked not much later. His poems reached Oxyrhynchus quite quickly; that does not prove the theory that he was himself Egyptian (Keydell in Kl. Paul. iv 100), for books could move with speed (LII 3685 introd.), but may support it.

```
fr. I
        col. i
                       col. ii
      ] çaı
                                         π[αντα λιθον κινει ςαυτην τρεφε και γραφε προς με
                    €1.
                                         εις π οιην ακτην ευφροςυνον γεγονας
       ], ç
                                         ευτα κτειν πειρω το δ ενοικιον ην τι περιςςον
                    \epsilon v \tau
 5
                     , εινηταικα, [
                                        γεινηται και [εμοι φροντιζον ηματιον
                    αν γαςτρι[
                                         αν εν γαςτρι [λαβης τεκε ναι τεκε μη θορυβηθης
                    ευρηςειπο [
                                         ευρηςει ποθ [εν εςτ ελθον ες ηλικιην
                        επιςα.
                                               \epsilon \pi \iota \epsilon \alpha
10
                    τοςτομ. χω.
                                         το ετομα χωπ ρωκτος ταυτον Θεοδωρε ςου οζει
                                        ωςτε [δι]αχ[νωναι τοις φυςικοις καλον ην
                    \omega c \tau \epsilon
                                        η γρα[ψαι εε εδει ποιον ετομα ποιον ο πρωκτος
                    ηγρα[
                    עטע
                                        νυν δ[ε λαλουντος του
                    αλλω[
15
                     ]..[
                     fr. 2
                                                                           fr. 3
                     . .
                                                                 ]\pi\ldots\eta\ldots\pi\tau\epsilon\rho\psi[
                      ], \epsilon \omega, [
                      ] v\omega [
                                                                 ]\phi\epsilon,\epsilon\gamma\delta\eta,\omega\nu\epsilon,[
                      ]μοιως [
                                                                 ], \mu, \delta \eta \nu \phi, ..... [
              ] ονδιοκληνα [
                                                                 ]κενεβαλλενολη[
              ], ενδημωνώ[
                                                                 ομοιως [
       5
              ] εχεδια εοδε[
                                                                 ] \theta v c ia \delta a \mu \omega [...]
             ] ενοςπαρατω.
             ] \epsilon\pi\iota\epsilon\phi\iota\gamma\gamma
              ]αι, ρ. νακεςω[
                ], νουτουν. [
       ΙO
```

Fr. 1

Col. i. 1 ]., overhang of sigma?

3 ]., point (top of upright?) level with tops of letters

4 ]., lower right-hand quadrant of small circle (omicron, rho, omega)?

5 ]., upright, probably iota.

Col. ii. 3–8 AP 5. 40. 5–10  $(\tau o \hat{v} \ a \hat{v} \tau o \hat{v}, \text{ sc. } N\iota \kappa \acute{a}\rho \chi o v)$ . In 7 the papyrus has  $\check{a}\nu$ , the MSS  $\check{\eta}\nu$ ; MSS have  $\check{a}\nu$ 

 $(\tilde{\eta}_{\nu})$  Jacobs) in 5 above, where the papyrus is not preserved.

9 The heading of the next poem. [, if the trace is not delusory, is an upright on the edge. Given the subject, there are temptations in  $\frac{\partial \pi}{\partial t}$  ca $\pi$ [ $\rho o c \tau \dot{o} \mu o v$ , although LSJ cites the word only from [Arist.] Chreiai as quoted at Stob. 3. 5. 42. If the heading was centred on l. 8, it might need to be a little longer (add  $\tau \iota v o c$ ?).

14 Heading.

15 αλλω[, αλμ[ cannot be altogether excluded.

16 ]. [, perhaps the oblique and right side of nu, then a sloping top as of alpha, lambda, delta, mu.

Fr. 2

1 .[, left-hand arc, as of sigma omicron omega.

2 ], point at line level; more ink to the left, but on stripped underlayer of fibres. [, apparently left-hand curve of omega: i.e.  $-\nu\omega\omega$  [ before the caesura of the pentameter?

3 Heading ο μοιως.

4. [, pi? (less likely gamma, with a trace of a junction at the right). If the heading is approximately centred, we should end in mid-hexameter, say  $- \cup \cup$ ]. ον Διοκλή να $\pi$ [, Διοκλήν α $\pi$ [ (for the form of accusative see HE ii p. 256). Various Diocles appear in AP.

 $5 - \epsilon \nu (\dot{\epsilon} \nu) \delta \dot{\eta} \mu \omega (\delta \dot{\eta} \mu \omega \nu), \dot{\epsilon} \nu \delta \dot{\eta} \mu \hat{\omega}, - \hat{\omega} \nu$ . A slight space after the second nu perhaps suggests that the word-

break fell there; otherwise  $\Delta \eta \mu \dot{\omega}$  also possible.

6  $-\cdots$  -  $\propto \kappa \delta lac$   $\delta \delta \epsilon$   $-\cdots$   $\mu \epsilon \nu o \epsilon$ ?  $\epsilon \chi \epsilon \delta l\eta \epsilon$  at pent. end AP 6. 341. 2 (FGE 697), of Darius' bridge of boats.

7]., upright with curving link from base to back of epsilon, mu likely. [, part of curving back as of sigma etc.? On the face of it,  $\pi \alpha \rho \dot{\alpha} \tau \dot{\omega}$ ,  $\tau \dot{\omega}$ . For the article before the diaeresis, see Gow-Page on HE 913; GP i p. xlv (only three examples in Philip's authors); most examples have  $\kappa \alpha \dot{\iota}$  ( $\eta$  in GP 3337, Philodemus) before the article;  $\pi \alpha \rho \dot{\alpha}$  in HE 913 (Asclepiades), 1090 (Callimachus).

8 Title. If  $\epsilon \pi i$  is to be taken separately,  $\epsilon \phi i \gamma \gamma [\delta c$  is a possibility ( $\overline{AP}$  has nothing relevant, except a passing reference to Oedipus' Sphinx, 7. 429. 8, and a copy of her riddle, 14. 64; a local epigram on the Egyptian Sphinx, Bernand, Inscr. Metr. no. 129). (But sphinx and  $\epsilon \phi i \gamma \gamma i \delta \nu$  may also describe a kind of ape.) If this title centred approximately under that in 3, it must have been short; which tells against  $\epsilon \phi i \gamma \gamma [\delta \mu i \delta \nu]$ 

plus noun.

9 Apparently ] αιηρηνακεςω[. I do not see how plausibly to divide this.

10 ]., upright with ink to the left, eta or nu? . [, lambda or first part of mu? or an anomalous alpha?

Fr. 3

2 After the first epsilon, apparently rho; at the end perhaps the back and lower oblique of kappa. ]  $\phi \epsilon \rho \epsilon \gamma \delta \eta$  (if the accommodation is acceptable in a MS of this period),  $\phi \epsilon \rho$  ( $\epsilon \gamma \delta \eta$ ,  $\omega \nu \epsilon \kappa$  [? Since 4 must be a pentameter, so is this; the succession of long syllables shows that the caesura falls after  $\omega/\omega\nu$ .

3 ]ομαδην (-δρ]ομάδην) possible.

4 ov] $\kappa$   $\epsilon v \epsilon \beta a \lambda \lambda \epsilon v$   $o\lambda \eta$ [ (ov  $\kappa$ ] $\epsilon v$   $\epsilon \beta a \lambda \lambda \epsilon v$ )? The first, not the second, half of the pentameter, to judge from 2.

Title

6 ], remains of upright on the edge. Proper names (Damo, Damon) are among the possibilities.

### 3726. EPIGRAMS

32 4B.7/H(1)a

Fr. 1 3.5 × 19 cm

Second-third century

These scraps from a fine manuscript (fr. 1 has a lower margin of 5 cm), written in a handsome upright Severe Style, include one identifiable text, the epigram AP 9. 434 (fr. 1. 25–6). This epigram was probably composed for an edition of Theocritus' works (see Gow, *Theocritus* ii p. 549); it appears also in the Prolegomena of the Theocritus Scholia, preceded by AP 9. 205 (Artemid. FGE 113) (p. 6. 11 ff. Wendel; cf. pp. 9. 30, 10. 29). In principle, then, 3726 might be (i) a prose work, in which the epigram was cited; (ii) a text of Theocritus, to which the epigram was appended; or (iii) an independent anthology of epigrams. Hints of metre, and dialect forms in fr. 2. 2, 5, seem to exclude (i); no line of Theocritus has been identified, which excludes (ii); (iii) therefore remains, and certainly what little survives can be reconciled with elegiac couplets. There is no trace of AP 9. 205.

The back is blank.

	fr. 1	fr. 2
	$]\delta a \epsilon \phi [$	$]\phi a$ , [
	] € , . [	], αιηςμητη[
	]ķp[	], $\alpha$ , $\nu\epsilon$ . [
	][	] $\circ \mu a c \overset{ u}{\epsilon} \mu \epsilon \pi$ . [
5	] [	]. φιλευνκαι. [
	] [	]αδιουςπως[
	] [	$]  u  au [\ .\ ] \mu \epsilon  u [$
	]. [	], τοντοςςη[
	] [	
IO	] [	][
	] [	

Ēr. т

<sup>2 ...[,</sup> upright and then, on vertical fibres, rising oblique, together  $\kappa$ ? then perhaps beginning of high horizontal as of  $\tau$  3  $\kappa$  rather than  $\chi$  ...[, top of upright, with hook to right  $(\epsilon, \epsilon^2)$ ; trace high in the line, perhaps beginning of  $\omega$ ? 4-14 Largely stripped; even the number of lines is uncertain

Fr. 2

I , [, upright 2], low trace running into the nose of  $\alpha$  3], perhaps parts of the top and right side of  $\pi$   $\alpha$ , ..., first, perhaps upright (rather short), and top of loop, of  $\rho$ ; last, upper right arc of small circle  $(o? \omega?)$  . [, point at line-level 4], upright crossed at foot by stroke from left (v?) 5], gently rising stroke at mid-height, joining loop of  $\phi$  . [, upright, perhaps join at top  $(\gamma? \pi?)$  6 ... [, short upper curve of  $\epsilon$ ,  $\epsilon$ ?, upper arc of circle (o?), top of upright 8], tip of horizontal at two-thirds height, projecting below the left-hand horizontal of  $\tau$ , crossbar of  $\epsilon$ ? 9], part of upright on edge, stripped above . [, high horizontal as of  $\tau$ ? 10], upper trunk and right-hand branch of v?

	],[	fr. 3
	].[	 ].[
15	], `\epsilon, [	]καιφ[
	], açŢ[	$]\epsilon\phi\circ ho au[$
	$]\dot{ heta}v\pi\epsilon[$	][
	]aµ,[,]a[	
	$]$ ηςκ $[,],\pi,[$	
20	$]$ $\mu v \theta o [,] \psi \epsilon v,[$	
	], εν. , cε κα[	
	], $\nu\eta\epsilon\phi\theta$ [	
	$]$ $\epsilon πικρηνω[$	
	], ρωποιςουκεφ[	
25	], εθεοκριτοςτ.[	ἄλλος ὁ Χῖος· ἐγὼ] δὲ Θεόκριτος $\langle \degree c \rangle$ τά $[\delta ]$ ἔγραψα
	] , ωνειμιςυρ[	εἷς ἀπὸ τῶν πολ]λῶν εἰμὶ Cυρ[ακοςίων

Fr. 1 13 ]. [,  $\rho$ ? 15 ]., right-hand branches of  $\chi$  rather than  $\kappa$ ? ... [, foot of upright; foot of long descender ( $\rho$  v  $\phi$   $\psi$ ,  $?\tau$ ) 16 ]., upright on the edge, apparently reaching only to half height (i.e.  $\omega$ ?) 18  $\mu$ ., upright, perhaps with rightward extension near the top (i.e.  $\eta$ ?) 19 ]., loop of  $\rho$  rather than  $\sigma$ ? ... [, upper left arc of circle ( $\sigma$ ?) 21 ]., point on the edge at line-level  $\tau$ ., lower left arc with heavy ink at centre, stripped above ( $\sigma$ , with a gap where its component strokes should join at bottom right?); two uprights ( $\tau$ ?  $\tau$ ?) 22 ]., upright 24 ]., tip of horizontal at two-thirds height

Fr. 1

19ff. Assuming that these are elegiacs, and given that in 25f. the caesura falls towards the left of the

preserved portion, possible readings might be:

19 hex. ] ηc κ[a]ρπο[ (not AP 7. 331. 6, 9. 79. 1). 20 pent. - υ υ - ]μυθο[,] ψευδ[. 21 hex. <math>- υ υ - υ]. εγογ cε κα[ (but the first trace does not suggest μ); the scribe left a space after cε, which suggests word-end. 22 pent. ], νηε φθ[. 23 hex. <math>- υ υ - υ] επλ κρηνῶ[ν?] But it is at least unexpected that a word-group should bridge the third-foot caesura. 24 pent. - υ υ ων] θρωμοιοιοινεί εφ[. οὐ κεφ[.]

Fr. 2

If 4 is rightly guessed to be the central part of a hexameter, possible readings might be: 2 hex.  $-\circ\circ$ ] a  $i\eta$ ς  $\mu\eta\tau\eta$ [  $(\mu\dot{\eta}\tau\eta[\rho?)$  4 hex.  $-\circ\circ\omega$ ] iο i0 hex.  $-\circ\circ\omega$ ] i0 hex.  $-\circ\circ\omega$ ] i0 hex.  $-\circ\circ\omega$ ] i1 hex.  $-\circ\circ\omega$ ] i2 hex.  $-\circ\circ\omega$ ] i3 hex.  $-\circ\circ\omega$ ] i5 hex.  $-\circ\circ\omega$ ] i6 hex.  $-\circ\circ\omega$ ] i6 hex.  $-\circ\circ\omega$ ] i7 hex.  $-\circ\circ\omega$ ] i8 hex.  $-\circ\circ\omega$ ] i8 hex.  $-\circ\circ\omega$ ] i8 hex.  $-\circ\circ\omega$ ] i8 hex.  $-\circ\circ\omega$ ] i9 hex.  $-\circ\omega$ 0 hex.  $-\omega\omega$ 0

1

Fr. 3 3 ]ς φορτ[.

# II. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

3727. Declaration to the Logistes from an ἐπιμελητὴς ἐργατῶν Μέμφεως

13×17.5 cm

L'Administration civile 108, and see the note below on l. 4.

This fragmentary document is primarily of interest for providing the earliest attestation of the office of logistes, previously unattested before 304; cf. J. Lallemand,

303

22 3B.16/K (3-4) b

An  $\epsilon \pi \iota \mu \epsilon \lambda \eta \tau \dot{\eta} c \dot{\epsilon} \rho \gamma \alpha \tau \hat{\omega} v M \dot{\epsilon} \mu \phi \epsilon \omega c$  swears to the logistes apparently that he has taken charge of a total of 45 persons, levied from various villages to provide compulsory labour in Memphis. See further 7 n. Written along the fibres. No kollesis survives. The back is blank. [έπὶ ύ]πάτων τῶ[ν] κ[υ]ρίων ἡμῷν Α[ὐτοκρατόρων] Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ η// καὶ Μαξιμιανο[ῦ τὸ ζ//] Cεβαςτών. Αὐρηλίω ζεύθη τῷ καὶ 'Ωρίωνι λογιστῆ 'Οξ[υρυγχίτου]  $[\pi]$ αρὰ Aὐρηλίου Aπφοῦτος υἱοῦ Cαραπίωνος [ c. 10 5  $\gamma[\epsilon] v \circ \mu \acute{\epsilon} v[ov] \cdot [\cdot]() [\tau \hat{\eta} \epsilon] \lambda \alpha \mu (\pi \rho \hat{\alpha} \epsilon) \kappa \alpha i \lambda \alpha \mu (\pi \rho o \tau \acute{\alpha} \tau \eta \epsilon)$ 'Οξυρυγχιτῷ[ν πόλεως] έπιμελητοῦ ἐργατῶν Μέμφεως. ὀμνύ[ω τὴν τῶν κυρίων] ήμων Αὐτοκρατόρων Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μ[αξιμιανοῦ] Cεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τ[ῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων] Καιτάρων ζεβατ[τῶ] γ [τύ] χην παρειληφ[έναι παρά τῶν] 10 κωμαρχών τών έξη[c] γεγραμμένω[ν κωμών c. 6]  $\mathring{a}$ ρι $\mathring{\theta}$ μ $\mathring{\omega}$  [ ] (added, m. 2) τρι $\mathring{a}$ κοντα πέντε (m. 1) καὶ  $\mathring{\epsilon}$ π[ c. 6 ]  $\mathring{a}$ ριθμ $\mathring{\omega}$  (added, m. 2) δ $\acute{\epsilon}$ κα (m. 1) δ $\mu$ ο $\mathring{v}$  [ up to c. 12 ] 15

'Under the consuls our lords Imperatores Diocletianus for the 8th time and Maximianus for the 7th time, Augusti.

'To Aurelius Seuthes alias Horion, curator of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelius Apphous son of Sarapion... former . . . of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, supervisor of the workmen of

Memphis. I swear by the fortune of our lords Imperatores Diocletianus and Maximianus Augusti and Constantius and Maximianus most noble Caesares, Augusti, that I have received from the comarchs of the following villages . . . in number' (added, m. 2) 'thirty-five' (m. 1) 'and . . . in number' (added, m. 2) 'ten', (m. 1) 'together . . .'

1-3 For the form of the consular date-clause cf. P.Wisc. II 61. 1-2, and R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt 105.

3 The month and day will probably have been given at the foot after ὑπατείας τῆς αὐτῆς vel sim.

4 For Aurelius Seuthes alias Horion and the chronology of the Oxyrhynchite logistae from 303 to 346, see Appendix I below. This document provides a new earliest date for Seuthes, who is the earliest known logistes.

6 For ἐπιμεληταί as drawn from the councillor class see F. Oertel, Die Liturgie 219; J. Lallemand,

L'Administration 215.

7 ἐπιμελητοῦ ἐργατῶν Μέμφεως. For ἐπιμεληταί see Oertel, op. cit. 214-21, and also 84 n. 2; N. Lewis, The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt (= Pap. Flor. XI) 27-8. For levies in respect of workmen at Memphis cf. P. Sak. 22. 23 ff. and 23; for Alexandria likewise, CPR VI 5. 1-9 (with R. S. Bagnall, Bull. Soc. Arch. Copte 24 (1979-82) 115); also P. Sak. 25. 1-11, 24 ff. The language here (παρειληφέναι, 10, with 12-13) suggests that, unusually, it is human labour which is being levied here. For παρειληφέναι cf. e.g. XLVII 3346 11-12. Wording lost in the lacuna in 11 may nevertheless have converted the 'men' into a payment in lieu.

9 τ[. Or ε[? For omission of των before ἐπιφανεςτάτων cf. e.g. VIII 1104 19.

10 For repeated Cεβαςτών cf. P. Col. VII 136. 3 with 1-4 n.

- 11 The document presumably continued with a list of the individual villages with the number of men levied from each.
- 12 After  $d\rho \iota \theta \mu \hat{\phi}$ , a short curved upright, partially erased: not the remnant of a more substantial erasure, but simply due to the second hand's at first beginning  $\tau \rho \iota \acute{a} κον \tau a$  (the stroke being the vertical of  $\tau$ ) too far to the left?

### **3728.** Application to the Logistes

A  $7.B_4/I$  (H) Feb./Mar. 306

This fragmentary document provides the second attestation (see 4n.) of the  $\partial \nu \rho \mu \dot{\alpha} \gamma \gamma \omega \nu \epsilon c$ , here shown as forming a guild. The guild makes application to the logistes but the nature of that application is unclear; it is not a declaration of prices like 3731 etc. It may share the same format as the even more fragmentary 3730.

Of prosopographical interest, besides the logistes (Aurelius Seuthes alias Horion: see Appendix I below), is a mention of the prefect Clodius Culcianus; see 7 n. 3728 falls within the known term of office of both.

The back is blank.

έ[πὶ ὑ]π[άτ]ων τῶν κυρίων ἡμ[ῶν] Αὐ[τοκρατόρων Κωνεταντίου]
καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Cεβαετῷ[ν τὸ ϛ΄.]
Αὐρηλίῳ Çεύθῃ τῷ καὶ ʿΩρίωνι λογ[ιετῆ ᾿Οξυρυγχίτου]
παρὰ τοῦ [κοι]νοῦ τῶν ὀνομανγώνω[ν τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως]
δι᾽ ἐμοῦ Αὐρηλίου Άμμωνίου Ἀπολλωνίου. αἰ[τοῦντί]
coι ἀκο[λούθ]ως τοῖς κελευς[θεῖ]ςι ὑπὸ το[ῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν]

4 Ι. ὀνομαγγώνων

$K$ λωδίου $[K]$ ουλικιανοῦ τὴν τιμὴν $_{ au}$ [	c. 14	]
ευνων $[\eta]$ μένων καὶ $\pi$ ραε $[\mu$ έν $[\omega u]$	с. 13	]
$ au$ ῆς $\lambda'$ $[ au o] \hat{v}$ ὄντος μηνὸς $\Phi$ αμ $\epsilon$ ν $\grave{\omega}[ heta$	c. 14	]
[ ε. 6 ] κυρίω[ν] ήμῶν Αὐτοκρ[ατόρων	C. IO	

7 Ι. Κουλκιανοῦ 8  $\pi \rho \alpha c_{\perp} \mu \epsilon \nu [\omega \nu]$ : uncertain letters obscured by a correction

'Under the consuls our lords Imperatores Constantius and Maximianus, Augusti, for the 6th time.

'To Aurelius Seuthes alias Horion, curator of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the donkey-sellers of the same city through me Aurelius Ammonius son of Apollonius. At your request in accordance with the orders of our lord Clodius Culcianus . . .

1-2 For the consular formula cf. R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt 105. The length of the final lacuna in 1 and the plural  $C \in \beta a c \tau \hat{\omega}[\nu \text{ in 2 are important factors in controlling the}]$ choice. Note that though Maξιμιανου features in the formulae from 302 to 306, 306 is the only one of those years in which the consuls are both Augustus but do not carry different consular numbers.

4 ὀνομανγώνω[ν. Cf. XLIV 3192 10 (9 May 307). Their formation in a κοινόν attested here accords well

with the situation in 3192.

10

7 Clodius Culcianus. See XLVI 3304; and C. Vandersleyen, Chronologie des préfets 12 and J. Lallemand, L'Administration civile 238, with the amendments tabulated in XLIII 3120 8 9n.; and T. D. Barnes, The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine 149. He is attested as prefect from 6 June 301 until 4 February 307.

## 3729. Doctor's Report

39 3B.76/F(1-2)c

5

11.4 × 12.3 cm

4 May 307

A public doctor reports to the logistes Aurelius Seuthes alias Horion that as instructed he has examined a man who has been wounded, perhaps on the buttocks. For such reports cf. XLIV 3195 and LI 3620 17-18n. The victim is styled κράτιστος δουκηνάριος. The text provides the latest attestation for Seuthes in office as logistes: cf. Appendix I below.

A large blot of ink partially obscures the centre-right of the text. Traces of ink at the extreme left margin (level with 10-12) may be only further blots; at any rate the appearance of the left edge of the papyrus suggests that we have the original margin of the document.

There is no kollesis. The back is blank.

[έπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίω]ν ἡμῶ[ν] [Αὐτο]κρ[άτορος ζεουήρου ζ]εβαςτο[ŷ] καὶ Μαξιμ[ίνου τοῦ ἐπι]φ[α]νεςτάτου [Kai] capoc.

15

Αὐρηλίω ζεύθει τῷ καὶ 'Ωρίωνι λογιcτῆ 'Οξ(υρυγχίτου) διὰ Αὐρηλίου Άνθεςτίου ἐξηγητοῦ διαδόχου παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ήρωνος Ήρωνος τοῦ

10 καὶ Διονψείου ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης)

 $O\xi(v\rho v \chi \iota \tau \hat{\omega} v)$ 

πόλεως δημοςίου ἰατροῦ. ἐπεςτάλην ὑπὸ ςοῦ τῆ ἐνεςτώς η ἡμέρα
ἤτις ἐςτὶν Παχὼν θ ἐκ βιβλιδίων
ἐπιδοθέντων ςοι ὑπὸ Αὐρηλίου Ἰςιδώρου κρατίςτου δουκηναρίου ἐφιδεῖν
τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν διάθεςιν καὶ ἐνγράφως ςοι προςφωνῆςαι· ὅθεν ἐφίδον
τὸν προκίμενον Ἰςίδωρον ἔχοντα
ἐπὶ ἀρ[ιςτερο]ῦ ἰθῶνος τραῦμα καὶ

20 [ c. 16 ], [, , ], καὶ ἐπὶ του

7 οξ΄ 10 λαμ∫, λαμ∫οξ΄ 17 l. ἐπείδον . 18 l. προκείμενον 14 ϋπο 15 l. ἐπιδείν

16-17 Ι. ἐγγράφως

'Under the consuls our lords Imperator Severus Augustus and Maximinus the most noble Caesar.

'To Aurelius Seuthes alias Horion, curator of the Oxyrhynchite, through Aurelius Anthestius exegetes, deputy.

'From Aurelius Heron, son of Heron alias Dionysius, from the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, public doctor. I was instructed by you today which is the 9th of Pachon, consequent on a petition presented to you by Aurelius Isidorus, vir egregius, ducenarius, to examine his condition and report to you in writing. Wherefore I examined the aforesaid Isidorus, who has a wound on the left buttock(?) and . . .'

<sup>1</sup> The traces may be accidental. If not, they are likely to be from a docket rather than a column or item number, for which they would be set rather far to the right.

2-5 For this version of the consular formula cf. P. Mil. II 55. 1-3 (R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt 105).

7-8 In XVIII 2187 2, 5 the logistes (presumably Seuthes again, cf. Appendix I below) is likewise represented by a διάδοχος; likewise there the διάδοχος is an exegetes.

9-10 Can this be the same Aurelius Heron who is a  $\delta\eta\mu\dot{\delta}c\iota\dot{\delta}c$  in 316 (VI 896 24) and 331 (XLIV 3195 29)? Cf. 3195 28 ff. n. The remains of the patronymic in 896 24 are too damaged for a photograph to be conclusive, but the space is perhaps insufficient to admit the patronymic with alias attested by 3729.

11 A vertical stroke begins below  $\mu$  of  $\delta\eta\mu$ ocíov and reaches down to 13; it is presumably accidental. Another similar stroke to the right begins lower and reaches to 14, and there is a further stroke to the right of that.

15 κρατίττου δουκηναρίου. Cf. J.-M. Carrié, ZPE 35 (1979) 217-18 and C. Foss, ibid. 283. For the debasement of this and other equestrian categories see also F. Millar, JRS 73 (1983) 90 ff.

19  $l\theta$ ωνος is uncertain. I am very doubtful about  $l\nu$  preceding it. The only alternative culled from P. Kretschmer and E. Locker, Rückl. Wörterb. (pp. 188, 191) is  $\dot{\rho}l\dot{\omega}\theta\omega\nu\sigma$ , 'nostril', which would require a shorter word in front of it.  $l\theta\dot{\omega}\nu$  would be an addendum to the papyrological lexica.

## 3730. Application to the Logistes

A 21/6 (25.4.67) 4.8  $\times$  8.2 cm c.308-12

A fragment from the top or from near the top of an application to the logistes Valerius Heron alias Sarapion, whose term of office known from elsewhere supplies an approximate dating (see Appendix I below). The format of the document (which is not a declaration of prices) may be similar to 3728; see 7 n.

The back is blank.

4 λαμί

'To Valerius Heron alias Sarapion, *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the . . . of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through . . . monthly presidents Aurelii . . . son of . . . and Sarmates son of Artemidorus, both from the same city. We request(?) . . .'

- The slightly wider gap above this line indicates that it may be the first of the document. On the other hand the consular date is expected, although cf. e.g. 3742, a price-declaration where the consular date follows the body of the declaration.
- 3 The guild can hardly be identified. If sigma is correct, then the cταγματοπώλαι (3748) and cτιπποχειρισταί (3753) are likely only to be two of several possibilities. For what it is worth, the μηνιάρχαι in 3730 are different from those in 3748 and 3753.
  - 4-5 After πόλεως, perhaps δι' ἡμῶν]  $|^{5}[τῶν]$ ?
  - 5-6 There is no change of hand indicating insertion of the names of the μηνιάρχαι.
- 7 aἰτο [recalls 3728 5-6 aἰ[τοῦντί] coι and the two texts may be parallel. Or should we compare VIII 1104 6 and XLIV 3193 2 and reconstruct αἰτο [ύμεθα ἐπισταλῆναι?

### 3731. DECLARATION OF PRICES

A 10. $B_5/2$   $8 \times 14$  cm c.310-11

A fragment from a declaration of prices by the guild of  $\mu\nu\rho\sigma\pi\hat{\omega}\lambda\alpha\iota$ , perfume-sellers: cf. 3733 and XXXI 2570 iii = 3766 v, and also 3765 32-40. As in the two former texts,

the items declared here were set out in two columns: we lack the right-hand column but the left column contains the same items in the same order as 2570 = 3766. Commentary on the items will be found under 3766.

An approximate date is provided by the mention of the prefect Sossianus Hierocles, for whom see XLIII 3120 8-9 n. and P. Coll. Youtie II 79; also now in P. Heid. IV 323. The addressee in 1 will at this date presumably be the logistes Valerius Heron alias Sarapion, for whom see Appendix I below.

There are scanty remains of a crude four-layer kollesis at the left edge, with a few illegible line-ends; this suggests that the papyrus was a  $\tau \delta \mu o c c v \gamma \kappa o \lambda \lambda \dot{\eta} c \iota \mu o c$ , unusual among these declarations (cf. 3742?). The back is blank.

Previously published declarations of prices are I **85** (re-ed. ZPE 39 (1980) 115–23), PSI III 202 (see ibid. 124–5), P. Harr. 73 (re-ed. ZPE 37 (1980) 229–36), XXXI **2570** republished here as **3766**, and LI **3624–6**. The type is surveyed in the ZPE articles and in **3624–6** introd. Note also P. Ant. I 38 (AD 300), republished as SB X 10257, with the comments of M. H. Crawford and J. M. Reynolds, ZPE 34 (1979) 164, and J. R. Rea in LI **3628** 10 n.; on this text see now especially R. S. Bagnall, Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt (BASP suppl. 5 (1985)) 63.

Declarations of this type generally exhibit signs of advance drafting, sometimes obvious, sometimes less so. I discussed this bureaucratic procedure in ZPE 39 (1980) 115. The draft was prepared by copying from an exemplar, most probably the roll of declarations from the previous month since the guilds had to make these declarations every month. A gap was left for the name(s) of the  $\mu\eta\nu\iota\acute{a}\rho\chi a\iota$ , while the items declared and the units of measurement and of currency (talents or denarii) were all filled in in advance; thus the names of the  $\mu\eta\nu\iota\acute{a}\rho\chi a\iota$  and the actual price-figures are expected to show signs of later insertion, even if sometimes this is by the same hand (3731 does not entirely accord, see 4n. and 9 ff. n.). The use of the previous month's roll to copy from would obviously help to keep the ready written currency units up to date. The subscriptions too were additions, of course. The date was already written; the day where preserved is always the 30th of the month. This does not imply that the drafts were actually prepared on that day or that they were necessarily filled in on that day.

10	πιπέρεως λιβάνου μαλα`βά΄θρου	$\lambda i( au  ho a \epsilon) \ a \ \lambda i( au  ho a \epsilon) \ a \ \lambda i( au  ho a \epsilon) \ a$	τάλ(αντον) α (δηνάρια) ς τάλ(αντον) α
	cτύρακος ὑ[ψ]ηλοῦ cτύρακος ἐλα[φροῦ	λί(τρας) α [	,
	κόςτου	$\lambda i( au  ho a \epsilon) a$	].
15	μαςτίκης	$\lambda i( au  ho a \epsilon)$ a	(δηνάρια) φ[
	ἀμώμου	$\lambda i( au  ho a \epsilon) \ a$	(δηνάρια) Αςκ[ε?]
	βδέλλης	$\lambda i( au ho a\epsilon)$ a	(δηνάρια) το [ε?
	κατίατ	$\lambda i( au  ho a \epsilon) a$	(δηνάρια) το [ε?
	καςάμου	$\lambda i( au ho a\epsilon)$ a	$(\delta\eta u\acute{a} ho\iota a)\; au_0[\epsilon?]$

9  $\lambda$ , ταλ' 10 -×: so in 15-19 11 First a of μαλαβάθρου rewritten or corrected ταλ

4 After  $A \tilde{v} \rho \eta \lambda i \sigma v$ , the first name may be  $\tilde{E} \rho \mu \epsilon i [\sigma v]$ ; the second name at least appears to have been inserted by a different hand, and runs into a of  $\tilde{a} [\pi \delta]$  by the first hand.

4-5 The order here is surprising, with the representative's name preceding the reference to Oxyrhynchus.

9 ff. The prices are in the same hand as the main text, with no evidence of insertion.

16 The reading is not  $Ac\nu$ , i.e. 1,250 den.  $Ac\kappa[\epsilon]$  (1,225) is perhaps a more likely figure than just  $Ac\kappa$  (1,220), cf. 3732 13-15 n.

17-19 375 den. =  $\frac{1}{4}$  tal. and therefore is a likely figure.

### 3732. Declaration of Prices

70/16 bis (a)  $(31.5 \times 25.5 \text{ cm})$  25 May 312 + 71/51 (b)

This and the three following items are consecutive declarations of prices on a continuous if much broken and damaged roll. Little survives of this first one, the ends of lines only; for the layout and restorations cf. 3734. Comparisons with 3733 (or 3735), where the layout is much wider, are not apt. The column here must have begun at a higher level than 3733. The guild-name ends in  $-\pi]\omega\lambda\hat{\omega}\nu$  (6); this is not helpful except inasmuch as it indicates that the guild-order here differs from XXXI 2570 = 3766, where the  $\mu\nu\rho\sigma\pi\hat{\omega}\lambda\alpha\iota$  (3733 here) are preceded by the  $\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\mu\epsilon\hat{\iota}c$ .

The texts fall within the known limits of tenure of the *curator* Valerius Heron alias Sarapion: see Appendix I below.

The main hand of the declarations is the same in 3732-5; here in 3732 there is a proxy subscription which may be in a different hand, different therefore (the name is lost) from the proxy subscription in 3733 which was written by Aurelius Nilus the main hand of 3732-5 (see 3733 introd.).

There is a kollesis between 3733 and 3734; the roll is not a  $\tau \delta \mu o c c v \gamma \kappa o \lambda \lambda \dot{\eta} c \iota \mu o c$ . The declarations are written along the fibres. On the back, along the fibres, is part of a roll of reports of proceedings, published here as 3764.

```
[ύπατείας τῶν δεςποτῶν ἡμῶν]
        [Φλαυίου Οὐαλερίου Κωνςταντίνο]υ
        [καὶ Λικινιανοῦ Λικινίου ζεβαςτῶν τ]ὸ β΄.
        [Οὐαλερίω Ήρωνι τῶ καὶ ζαραπίω]νι
                [λογιςτη 'Οξυρυγχίτου]
 5
        [παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν ?- π]ωλῶν
        [τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως διὰ
                                                νος καὶ Ω
        [ἀκολούθως τοῖς κελευ]ςθ(εῖςιν) ἰδίω
        [τιμήματι προςφωνοῦμεν] τὴν έξης
        [τιμήν ὧν χειρίζομεν] ώνίων καὶ
        [όμνύομεν τὸν θεῖον] ὅρκον μὴ
        [\delta \iota \epsilon \psi \epsilon \hat{\nu} c \theta a \iota. \ \check{\epsilon} c \tau \iota \ \delta] \dot{\epsilon}
                                    ] (δηνάρια) Ά
                                    ] (δηνάρια) χκε
                                    ] (δηνάρια) ιγ
15
        [ύπατείας της αὐτη]ς,
                     [Παχών λ'.]
        [A \mathring{v} ρ \mathring{\eta} λιοι ... καὶ ... προς φωνοῦ] μεν ὡς (πρόκειται).
        [A \mathring{v} \rho \mathring{\eta} \lambda \iota ο c \dots \mathring{\epsilon} \gamma \rho a \mathring{v} a \mathring{v} \pi \grave{\epsilon} \rho a \mathring{v} \tau \hat{\omega} v] \gamma \rho (άμματα) μ \mathring{\eta} ε \mathring{\iota} \delta \acute{o} \tau (\omega v).
```

6 κοινοῦ probably abbreviated, cf. the two following declarations.

<sup>18</sup>  $\omega c$ )? 19  $\gamma \rho f$ ,  $\epsilon \iota \delta o^{\tau}$ 

<sup>3</sup> For the order of the names cf. 3733-4.

<sup>6</sup> ff. Space-assessment and restoration in this and the following lines are very uncertain. It is not absolutely certain that there were two declarants, the readings in 7 and 18 being very doubtful. With only one declarant of course the verb-forms in 9, 10, and 11 as well as 18 must be adjusted to the singular.

<sup>13-15</sup> We cannot exclude the possibility that a sum in talents preceded the denarii. The figure of 13 denarii in 15 is surprising, not only because it is so low (unless a sum in talents preceded it); denarius-sums are normally multiples of twenty-five, as witness 3733.

<sup>18</sup> The very cursive remaining traces are very uncertainly read.

<sup>18-19</sup> Perhaps  $A\mathring{v}_{\rho}(\acute{\eta}\lambda\iota\iota\iota)$  and  $A\mathring{v}_{\rho}(\acute{\eta}\lambda\iota\iota\iota\epsilon)$ , and the lost part of 19 may have had further abbreviations.

# 3733. Declaration of Prices

70/16 bis (a)  $(31.5 \times 25.5 \text{ cm})$  25 May 312 + 71/51 (b)

This is the second in the sequence of declarations 3732-5; for some general comments on the tattered roll that preserves them, see 3732 introd. This item is of special interest for its economic information: it supplies a third declaration by the guild of  $\mu\nu\rho\sigma\pi\hat{\omega}\lambda\alpha\iota$ , perfume-sellers, to add to 3731 (c.310-11) and XXXI 2570 iii = 3766 v (27 October 329); cf. too 3765 32-40 of c.327. The items declared are arranged in two columns as in the parallels, and follow the same order. Commentary on the items will be found under 3766. Comparisons with 3766 indicate that seven items have been omitted here between lines 18 and 19.

Distribution of hands is not totally clear. I think the whole of this declaration, including the names in 5, the prices and the subscription, is by the same hand; i.e. Aurelius Nilus (32) will have been a scribe in the logistes' bureau who was hired to act as  $\sin \rho \rho \alpha \phi \sin \alpha$  in this case. More disturbingly, I see no clear evidence of the later insertion of names and prices, unless perhaps the pre-drafted entry only listed the items, and the quantity-unit  $(\lambda i(\tau \rho \alpha c) \alpha)$  and price-unit (talents/denarii) were inserted along with the figures. The crisper ink for some of these entries (especially clear in 24–8) may indicate this.

ύπατείας τών δεςπ[ο]τών ήμων Φλαυίου Οὐαλερίου Κωνταντίνου καὶ  $\Lambda[\iota]$ κινιανοῦ  $\Lambda$ ικινίου  $C\epsilon \beta$ αςτῶν τὸ  $\beta'$ . Οὐαλερίω ή Ηρωνι τῷ καὶ ζαραπίωνι λογ(ιςτῆ) 'Οξυρυγχίτου παρὰ τοῦ κοι (νοῦ) τῶν μυροπωλῶν τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως διὰ Ἰςιδώρου ζαραπίωνος. ἀκολ(ούθως) τοῖς κελευςθεῖςιν ίδίω τιμήματι προςφωνώ τὴν έξης τιμὴν ὧν χειρίζω ωνίων, καὶ ὀμνύω τὸν θεῖον ὅρκον μὴ [διε]ψεῦςθα[ι. ἔςτ]ι δέ  $\lambda i(\tau \rho \alpha \epsilon)$  a (τάλαντον) α πιπέρεως λιβάνου  $\lambda i(\tau \rho a c)$  a (δηνάρια) ς μαλα (βά) θρου  $\lambda i(\tau \rho a c)$  a (τάλαντα) β **στύρακος ύψηλοῦ**  $\lambda i(\tau \rho \alpha c)$  a (δηνάρια) Άςν (δηνάρια) ψν *c*τύρακος ἐλαφροῦ  $\lambda i(\tau \rho a c)$  a κόςμου  $\lambda i(\tau \rho \alpha c)$  a (τάλαντον?) α μαςτίκης  $\lambda i(\tau \rho a c) a$ αμώμ[ο]υ  $\lambda i(\tau \rho a \epsilon)$  a (δηνάρια?) 15

1 Part of beginning of line obscured by ink-blot 4 κοι 5 ακο $^{\lambda}$  13 l. κόςτου 14 l. μαςτίχης

```
(δηνάρια) ςγ
                         βδέλλη[c
                                                                       \lambda i(\tau \rho a c)] a
                                                                                                         (δηνάρια) φ
                         καςίας
                                                                       \lambda i(\tau \rho a c) a
                         καςάμου
                                                                       \lambda i(\tau \rho a \epsilon) a
                                                                                                         (δηνάρια) υν
                                                                                                         (δηνάρια) εν
                                                                       \lambda i(\tau \rho a c) a
                         πατήματος
                                                                                                         (δηνάρια) ο ε
                         ας φαλανθί[ο] ψ
                                                                       \lambda i(\tau \rho a c) a
              20
                         άρνα[34]....[
                                         \lambda i(\tau \rho a c) a
                                                                       (δηνάρια) ργ
(Ll. 23-30 to right of ll. 8-22)
                                                                                                         (δηνάρια) ρε
                         cacέλεως
                                                                       \lambda i(\tau \rho \alpha \epsilon) \alpha
                                                                                                         (δηνάρια) οε
                                                                      [\lambda i(\tau \rho a c)] a
                          cφαγνίου
                                                                                                         (δηνάρια) ρν
                         είρωνων
                                                                       \lambda i(\tau \rho \alpha \epsilon) a
              25
                                                                                                         (δηνάρια) ροε
                         έλενιδίων
                                                                       \lambda i(\tau \rho a \epsilon) [a]
                                                                                                         (δηνάρια) οε
                          άλκεωτίδων
                                                                       \lambda i(\tau \rho a \epsilon) a
                          ονυχίων
                                                                                                         (δηνάρια) ς
                                                                       \lambda i(\tau \rho a c) a
                                                                       \lambda i(\tau \rho a \epsilon) a
                                                                                                         (δηνάρια) οξ
                          ξυλομαςτίκη[c]
                                                                       \lambda i(\tau \rho a \epsilon) a
                                                                                                         (δηνάρια) οε
                          αλιμαςτου
(At foot, below ll. 1-22)
                          \dot{v}\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon i\alpha\epsilon \ \tau\hat{\eta}\epsilon \ \alpha(\dot{v}\tau\hat{\eta}\epsilon), \ \Pi\alpha\chi\dot{\omega}\nu \ \lambda^{-}.
                          [A\mathring{v}\rho(\acute{\eta}\lambda\iota\circ\epsilon)]'I\epsilon[\acute{t}\delta\omega\rho\circ\epsilon]'''' \pi\rho\circ\epsilon\phi(\omega\nu\hat{\omega}) \ \dot{\phi}[\epsilon] \ \pi\rho\circ\kappa(\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota). \ A[\mathring{v}\rho](\acute{\eta}\lambda\iota\circ\epsilon)
                                                                                                             N\epsilon\hat{i}\lambda\rho\epsilon\ \epsilon\gamma\rho(a\psi a)\ \delta(\pi\epsilon\rho)\ a\dot{v}\tau\rho\hat{v}
                          [\mu\dot{\eta} \epsilon i\delta] \dot{\phi} \tau(o\epsilon) \gamma \rho(\dot{a}\mu\mu a\tau a).
```

20 l. ἀςπαλάθου? 27 ọε: less probably ρε 31 α 32 προς  $\phi$ , προ $\kappa$ α[υρ]΄, εγρ $\int$ υ) 33 ειδ]ο $^{\tau}$ γρ $\int$ 

'In the consulship of our masters Flavius Valerius Constantinus and Licinianus Licinius Augusti, for the 2nd time.

'To Valerius Heron alias Sarapion, *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the perfume-sellers of the same city, through Isidorus son of Sarapion. In accordance with orders, at my own risk I declare the price below for the goods which I handle, and I swear the divine oath that I have not been deceitful. As follows:

Pepper	ı lb.	tal. 1
Incense	ī lb.	den. 200
Malabathrum	ı lb.	tal. 2
Storax, tall	ı lb.	den. 1250
Storax, dwarf	ı lb.	den. 750
Costmary	ı lb.	tal. 1(?)
Mastic	ı lb.	[ ]
Amomum	ı lb.	den.? -
Bdellium	ı lb.	den. 250
Cassia	ı lb.	den. 500
Cassamum	ı lb.	den. 450
Pounded spice(?)	ı lb.	den. 250

ı lb.	den. 75
ı lb.	den. 150
ı lb.	den. 105
ı lb.	den. 75
ı lb.	den. 150
ı lb.	den. 175
ı lb.	den. 75
ı lb.	den. 200
ı lb.	den. 75
ı lb.	den. 75
	<ul><li>I lb.</li><li>I lb.</li><li>I lb.</li><li>I lb.</li><li>I lb.</li><li>I lb.</li><li>I lb.</li><li>I lb.</li></ul>

'The same consulship, Pachon 30.

- 'I, Aurelius Isidorus, make my declaration as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Nilus, wrote on his behalf because he is illiterate.'
- 2  $\Lambda[\iota]$ κινιανοῦ Λικινίου. Cf. **3734** 3. The order is correct, see PLRE i 509, and regular in the papyri, cf. the examples in R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt 106, where the presentation of the formula as Λικιννίου Λικιννιανοῦ is incorrect.

3 Ductus of abbreviation of  $\lambda o \gamma(\iota c \tau \hat{\eta})$  not clear.

- 12 Or possibly  $\phi v$  (550), but 750 den. (half a talent) is a more likely quantity (though note 450 den. in 18).
- 21 Cf. 3766 104. The traces here are too scanty to provide help with the textual uncertainty at this point in 3766. The entry here occupies two lines because the item-description is both long and written generously large.
  - 23 The price is an unexpected figure. Is this an error for  $\rho\kappa\epsilon$  (125) or  $\rho\sigma\epsilon$  (175)? The reading is certain.

32 Νείλος. I cannot exclude Μέλας.

#### 3734. DECLARATION OF PRICES

70/16 bis (a) (31.5 × 25.5 cm) 25 May 312 +71/51 (b)

The third in the sequence of declarations 3732-5 (for general comments on the roll that preserves the four see 3732 introd.) is that of the  $\delta\lambda o\pi\hat{\omega}\lambda a\iota$ , the salt-merchants. They turn up again in a declaration of 319, 3750 below, where the price of salt—250 denarii per artaba—has not changed. The guild-order there—the  $\delta\lambda o\pi\hat{\omega}\lambda a\iota$  are bracketed by  $\gamma a\rho o\pi\hat{\omega}\lambda a\iota$  (3749) and  $\epsilon\rho\iota o\pi\hat{\omega}\lambda a\iota$  (3751)—is different from here.

ύπατείας τῶ[ν δες]π[ο]τῶν ἡμῶν
Φλαυίου Οὐαλερίου Κωνςταντίνου
καὶ Λικινιανοῦ Λικινίου Cεβαςτῶν τὸ β΄.
Οὐαλερίω Ἡρωνι τῷ καὶ Cαραπίωνι
λογιςτῆ ᾿Οξυρυγχίτου
παρὰ τοῦ κοι(νοῦ) τῶν άλοπωλῶν τῆς
αὐτῆς π[ό]λ(εως) δ̞ιᾳ Πτολεμαίου Λουκίου
μηνιάρχο[υ]. ἀκ[ο]λ(ούθως) [το]ῖς κελευςθ(εῖςιν) ἰδίω

6 κοι 7 πο $^{\lambda_2}$  8 ακο $^{\lambda_2}$ , κελευς $^{\theta}$ 

5

τιμήματι προςφωνῶ τὴν έξῆς τιμὴν

10 ὧν χει[ρ]ίζω ἀνίων, καὶ ὀμνύω

τὸν θεῖον ὅρκον μὴ διεψεῦς[θ]αι.

[ἔς]τ̞ι δέ̞·
ἀλὸς [(ἀρτάβης)] α (δηνάρια) εν.

15 ὑπατείας τῆς αὐτῆς,
Παχὼν λ¨.

(m. 2) Αὐρήλι[ος] Πτολεμαΐος προςφωνῶ ὡς πρ[όκει]ται.

13 Enlarged letters with a long filler-stroke at end

'In the consulship of our masters Flavius Valerius Constantinus and Licinianus Licinius Augusti, for the 2nd time.

'To Valerius Heron alias Sarapion, *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the salt-merchants of the same city, through Ptolemaeus son of Lucius, monthly president. In accordance with orders, at my own risk I declare the price below for the goods which I handle, and I swear the divine oath that I have not been deceitful. As follows:

'Salt 1 art. den. 250.
'The same consulship, Pachon 30.'
(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Ptolemaeus, make my declaration as aforesaid.'

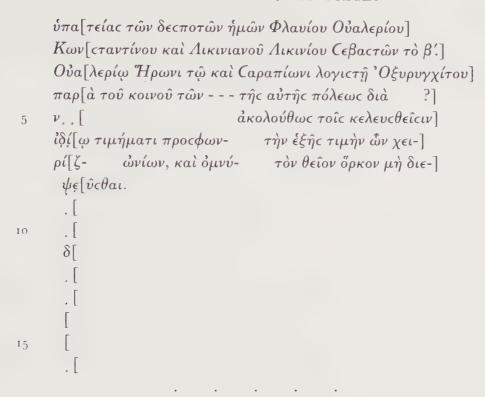
8 For the guild  $\mu\eta\nu\iota\acute{a}\rho\chi a\iota$ —one acts as declarant in the present instance, but sometimes more do so, six in I 85 iii (re-ed. ZPE 39 (1980) 118)—see XLIII 3126 i 19n. and XLIV 3195 6-7n. 3743 and 3752 attest the same persons as  $\mu\eta\nu\iota\acute{a}\rho\chi a\iota$  (of the guild of  $\lambda\epsilon\nu\kappa\alpha\nu\tau a\iota$ ) in two successive consular years.

14 For salt note LI 3628 17 n.; A. Lucas, Anc. Egyptian Materials and Industries, 4th edn. rev. J. R. Harris (1962), 268-9.

### 3735. Declaration of Prices

70/16 bis (a) + 71/51 (b) (31.5 × 25.5 cm) 25 May 312

Only scanty remains survive of the fourth and last-preserved declaration of the 3732-5 sequence (for general comments on this roll, see 3732 introd.). The guild is unidentified and the remains contribute nothing except a possible example of a layout unusual in these declarations, and they are really transcribed only for completeness' sake. What survives is sufficient to show that we have a wide format with the consular date on two lines (1-2), cf. 3733 above, the declaration of the  $\mu\nu\rho\sigma\pi\hat{\omega}\lambda\alpha\iota$ . It is not clear whether the items here declared occupied two columns as there. I do not know as yet of any guild that used this format except the  $\mu\nu\rho\sigma\pi\hat{\omega}\lambda\alpha\iota$ , for whom it was regular.



4-7 The uncertainty over identification of the guild, the presence or otherwise of abbreviations, and the number of declarants make accurate reconstruction of these lines impossible.

#### **3736.** Declarations of Prices?

These tattered fragments preserve the foot (on h(ii) = col. i) and the top (on h(i) = col. ii) of what presumably were declarations of prices. On the back of fragment h(ii) are 3758 221-8 and on the back of h(i) are 3758 214-20. Lines 181-213 of 3758 are on the back of the price-declaration sequence 3737-40 below, dated 27 September 312. The year in 3736 col. ii is certainly 312, though month and day have not survived, while the addressee Valerius Heron (alias Sarapion, curator of the Oxyrhynchite) is shared with the 3737-40 sequence (3738 inadvertently omits him), and the inventory numbers are sequential, so that the circumstantial evidence for unity is strong.

The declarations are written along the fibres. From the foot of col. i scanty ink traces of only two or three lines remain, which we do not transcribe. The last line begins  $A \dot{v} \rho \dot{\eta} [\lambda \iota o c$ . There was a blank lower margin of perhaps up to 8 cm. Of col. ii we transcribe the first five lines; occasional traces survive below this on a tangled mass of loose (and mostly vertical) fibres, extending about 18 cm. below l. 5.

ύπατείας τῶ[ν] δεςποτ[ῶ]ν ἡμῶν Φλαυίου Οὐαλερίου Κωνςταντίνου καὶ Λικιννια[νο]ῦ Λικινίου Cεβαςτῶν τὸ β[ʃ".] Οὐαλερίω Ἡρων[ι] τ[ῶ

2 φλαυϊου

5

# 3737. Declaration of Prices

13 1B.212-213/A (h)

Height 25 cm

27 September 312

This price-declaration addressed to the logistes by the guild of  $\kappa \epsilon \mu \iota o \pi \hat{\omega} \lambda a \iota$  (see 7-8 n.) is the first of a sequence of four of the same date occupying part (39 cm long) of the other side of 3758. The three items that follow it are published below as 3738-40. The sequence of these three ( $\hat{\epsilon}\lambda a \iota o \nu \rho \gamma o \iota$ ,  $\hat{a}\rho \tau \nu \mu a \tau o \pi \hat{\omega}\lambda a \iota$ ,  $\kappa \acute{a}\pi \eta \lambda o \iota$ ) is echoed in the declarations 3760-2, perhaps of 326. 3737 is more or less complete except for the loss of part of the right centre, but the loose and shredded nature of the surface fibres renders transcription hazardous. Considerable stray ink (offsets?) adds to the difficulties. There appears to have been a strengthening-strip (for 3758 presumably) attached down the left side of the document, which must itself have been inscribed; traces of its fibres remain, with ink visible through them.

The sequence greatly extends the known span of office of the logistes Valerius Heron alias Sarapion and provides the latest known date for him. See Appendix I below.

The main hand of all four texts 3737-40 is the same. See 3731 introd. for the practice of drafting the common form of such declarations in advance. 3738 bears an autograph signature by the declarant; the other three are signed by a  $\dot{\nu}\pi o\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\epsilon\dot{\nu}c$ , Sarmates in 3737, ]ion in 3739, and Horion (the  $\delta \pi \sigma \gamma \rho \alpha \phi \epsilon \dot{\nu} c$  in 3739?) in 3740. Horion, in a hand clearly different from the main hand, also inserted the prices and the names of the μηνιάρχαι in 3740. Authorship of the insertions in 3737-9 is uncertain; they may all be in the same hand, or the  $i\pi \sigma \gamma \rho \alpha \phi \epsilon i c$  may have made them in 3737 and 3739 respectively, and there are other possibilities obviously. If they are all in the same hand, the writer may be Sarmates, the  $\dot{\nu}\pi o\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\epsilon\dot{\nu}c$  of 3737. His handwriting is hardly to be distinguished from the main hand of all four texts 3737-40, although that may be due to the poor surface condition of the papyrus. It is conceivable that Sarmates, like Aurelius Leontius in P. Harr. 73 (see R. A. Coles, ZPE 37 (1980) 230), was a scribe in the logistes' bureau and in that capacity drafted the main texts, made the insertions in a number of them and was commissioned by the  $\mu\eta\nu\iota\dot{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta c$  in one instance to write the subscription. See Appendix IV below. Such a man would be in a position to insert the missing details of nomenclature and price in a document for which another man was  $\dot{v}\pi o \gamma \rho \alpha \phi \epsilon \dot{v} c$ .

There is a kollesis to the right of 3740, just before the edge of this particular offcut scrap of papyrus, but elsewhere the extreme surface damage and decomposition makes the presence of these joins very hard to discern.

```
ύπατεία[c] των δεςποτών
               ήμων Φλαυίου Οὐαλερίου
               Κωνςταντίνου καὶ Λικιννιανοῦ
               Λικινίου ζεβαςτών τὸ β[''.
               Οὐαλερίω Ήρωνι τῷ καὶ ζαρα-
        5
                     [πίω]νι λογιςτή 'Οξυρυγχίτου
               [παρὰ τοῦ κο] [νο] ῦ τῶν κεμιο-
               πωλών της αὐτης πόλε ως
               [1-2?].... A \mathring{v} \rho \eta \lambda \acute{v} ov `I \epsilon \rho \alpha \kappa \hat{\alpha} [\tau oc?]
               [ά]κολούθως τοῖς κελευςθ(εῖςιν) [ἰδίω]
       10
               [τι μήματι προςφωνώ τὴν
               έξης τιμην ών [χιρίζω]
               [\mathring{o}ρκον] μη έψεψεθαι. \mathring{e}[cτι δε·]
              [2-3]. [,]00
                                            (ἀρτάβης) α τάλ(αντον) (added; m. 2?) α
       15
              [φ]αςήλου
                                               (\mathring{a}\rho\tau\mathring{a}\beta\eta\epsilon) a \tau\mathring{a}\lambda(a\nu\tau\sigma\nu) (added; m. 2?) a
 (m. 1)
                                               (ἀρτάβης) α τάλ(αντον) (added; m. 2?) α
 (m. 1)
              [έρ]εβίνθου
              τήλεως
                                               (\mathring{a}\rho\tau\mathring{a}\beta\eta c) \alpha (\delta\eta\nu\mathring{a}\rho\iota a) (added; m. 2?) \psi\nu
 (m. 1)
              ορόβου
 (m. 1)
                                               (\mathring{a}\rho\tau\mathring{a}\beta\eta\epsilon) a (\delta\eta\nu\mathring{a}\rho\iota a) (added; m. 2?) \mathring{A}
              ύπατείας της αὐτης, Θώθ λ'.
 (m. 1)
(m. 2?)
              Αὐρήλιος Ίερακᾶς προςφω[νῶ ὡς πρόκειται.]
              A\dot{v}\rho(\dot{\eta}\lambda\iota\circ\epsilon) Ca\rho\mu\dot{\alpha}\tau\eta[\epsilon] \ddot{\epsilon}\gamma\rho(a\psi a) \dot{v}(\pi\dot{\epsilon}\rho) a\dot{v}\tau\rho\hat{v} \gamma\rho(\dot{\alpha}\mu\mu\alpha\tau a)
                                                                                 μη [είδότος.]
```

```
2 φλαυΐου Last o of Οὐαλερίου rewritten 9 ἵερακα[ 10 κελευς\theta? 16 ταλ΄ So in 15, 17? 21 ἵερακας 22 αυρ΄, εγρ\intυ) Form of abbreviation of \gamma \rho(\acute{a}\mu\mu\alpha\tau a) not discernible
```

'In the consulship of our masters Flavius Valerius Constantinus and Licinianus Licinius Augusti, for the 2nd time.

'To Valerius Heron alias Sarapion, *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the seed-vegetable merchants of the same city', (m. 2?) 'through me(?) Aurelius Hieracas'. (m. 1) 'In accordance with orders, at my own risk I declare the price below for the goods which I handle, and I swear the divine oath that I have not been deceitful. As follows:

(m. 1) 'Fenugreek 1 art. den.' (added; m. 2?) '750' (m. 1) 'Vetch 1 art. den.' (added; m. 2?) '1000'

(m. 1) 'The same consulship, Thoth 30'.

(m. 2?) 'I, Aurelius Hieracas, make my declaration as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Sarmates, wrote on his behalf as he is illiterate.'

- 7-8  $\kappa \epsilon \mu \iota o \pi \hat{\omega} \lambda a \iota$  recur in two other texts in this volume, **3744** and **3755**. Neither of those texts contributes to our knowledge of the meaning of the word. The most recent treatment is that of Z. Borkowski, *Une descr. topogr. des immeubles à Panopolis* (Warsaw 1975) 71. Now that we know four of the items handled by the  $\kappa \epsilon \mu \iota o \pi \hat{\omega} \lambda a \iota$  (16–19), we may more firmly reject the translation 'marchand de gomme' than Borkowski was able to do. If the  $\kappa \epsilon \mu \iota o \pi \hat{\omega} \lambda a \iota$  were concerned with chickens, then here they would have to be declaring the prices of the foodstuffs they bought. Borkowski's third possibility, based on  $\kappa \acute{\epsilon} \mu \iota o \nu =$  some type of vegetable, is more acceptable and suits the nature of the items declared here in **3737**. For  $\kappa \acute{\epsilon} \mu \iota o \nu =$  829, 192 n., CPR VIII 85. 5 n. and P. J. Sijpesteijn and K. A. Worp, ZPE 29 (1978) 269. The association  $\kappa \epsilon \mu \iota \acute{\omega} \nu \kappa a \iota \partial \nu \delta \rho \acute{\alpha} \kappa \omega \nu$  (vel sim.), and  $\kappa \epsilon \mu \iota o \rho \acute{\alpha} \partial \nu o \iota$ , both frequent in P. Ryl. IV, provide added weight for the vegetable-based interpretation. A common characteristic of the vegetables handled here (16–19) is that they are all leguminous vegetables cultivated for their seeds; hence I opt for the translation 'seed-vegetable merchants'.
- 9 One expects  $\delta i$   $\epsilon \mu o \hat{\nu}$  at the beginning of the line but I have failed to read it. An insertion or change of hand for the name of the declarant is expected but is not palaeographically clear. There are at any rate script similarities in the words recurring in 21.  $I\epsilon \rho a\kappa \hat{a}c$  (cf. 21) is not in F. Preisigke, Namenbuch or D. Foraboschi, Onomasticon or in Pape-Benseler or in F. Dornseiff and B. Hansen, Rückl. Wörterbuch. The short genitive  $I\epsilon \rho a\kappa \hat{a}$  is also possible, see F. T. Gignac, Grammar ii 16-18.

12-14 χιρίζω... ὅρκον. The wording is restored on the basis of the other items in this series but the papyrus is so damaged and the traces in 13 so uncertain that the distribution of words between lines is very conjectural.

- 15-19 The amounts of money are expected to be in a different hand or at least to have been added in; that they have at least been added in is apparent from the amounts in talents not being quite in alignment with the indication  $\tau a\lambda'$ .
- 16–19 For the items here (that in 15 remains undetermined) see M. Schnebel, Die Landwirtschaft 189–91, 193–5. φάτηλος, ἐρέβινθος and ὅροβος recur together in P. Cair. Isid. 71. 7 and 72 introd. For φάτηλος cf. BGU XV 2496 introd. On fenugreek (τῆλις) see also D. Crawford, Kerkeosiris 112–13. For ὅροβος see O. Lund 1. 2 n.; R. Pintaudi, Aeg. 61 (1981) 99, discusses ὀρβαρ- variants. Note the unfortunately incomplete price-declaration of the ὀρβιοπῶλαι, 3745 with 7-8 n.

17 The reading of the price is very uncertain; the surface is disfigured by offsets.

- 21 The use of the indicative of  $\pi\rho\sigma\epsilon\phi\omega\nu\hat{\omega}$ , without  $\epsilon\pi\iota\delta\epsilon\delta\omega\kappa a$ , is not in accord with the later practice, but is consistent through this sequence except for the curious double subscription in 3738.  $\pi\rho\delta\kappa\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$  probably abbreviated.
- 21-2 A change of hand is expected but is not palaeographically clear. Surface damage helps to obscure the individuality of the handwriting. Cf. the introd. above.

22 εἰδότος probably abbreviated.

### 3738. DECLARATION OF PRICES

13 1B.212-213/A (h)

Height 25 cm

27 September 312

This declaration by the oil-workers of Oxyrhynchus is the second in the sequence of four contemporary declarations 3737-40, for which cf. 3737 introd. This one has suffered some loss from a diagonal break across the centre. The writer has omitted the address to the logistes, thus depriving  $\tau \hat{\eta} c$   $a \hat{v} \tau \hat{\eta} c$   $m \hat{v} \hat{\eta} c$   $a \hat{v} \tau \hat{\eta} c$  but in the

declarant's autograph). For the various handwritings of the four-document sequence, see 3737 introd.

For the ¿λαιουργοί and the oil they declare cf. 3760, and see 5-6 n. below.

ύπατείας τῶν δεςποτῶ[ν]
ἡμῶν Φλαυίου Οὐαλερίο[υ]
Κωνςταντίνου καὶ Λικινν[ιανοῦ]
Λικινίου Cεβαςτῶν τὸ β[ʃ".]
παρὰ τ[ο]ῦ κοινοῦ τ[ῶ]ν [ἐλαι-]
ουρχῶν τῆς αὐτῆς [πόλεως]
δἰ [ἐμο]ῦ Αὐρηλίου

(added, m. 2?)  $[\Pi \epsilon \tau] \tau i \rho \iota \epsilon \Pi \alpha$ 

(m. 1) [ἀκο]λούθως τοῖς [κελευςθεῖςιν]

10 [ c. 11 ]. [ c. 7 ]... [ c. 19 ] ὧνί-[ων καὶ ὀμνύω] τὸν θεῖον ὅρκον [μὴ ἐψεῦςθαι. ἔ]ςτι δέ·

 $[\lambda \alpha \chi \alpha \nu \sigma]$ ς  $[\dot{\alpha} \dot{\gamma} \dot{\gamma} \dot{\gamma} \dot{\gamma} \dot{\gamma} \dot{\rho} \mu \sigma \nu \qquad (\dot{\alpha} \rho \tau \dot{\alpha} \dot{\beta} \eta c) \quad \alpha \quad \tau \dot{\alpha} \lambda (\alpha \nu \tau \alpha) \quad (\text{added; m. 2?}) \quad \beta \quad (\delta \eta \nu \dot{\alpha} \rho \iota \alpha) \quad c\nu.$ 

 $(m.\ 1) \qquad \left[ \emph{\emph{v}}\pi\alpha\tau\emph{\emph{e}}\emph{\emph{i}}\alpha\emph{\emph{c}} \right] \, \emph{\emph{\tau}}\mathring{\eta}\emph{\emph{c}} \,\, \emph{\emph{a}}\emph{\emph{v}}\emph{\emph{\tau}}\mathring{\eta}\emph{\emph{c}}, \,\, \Theta\grave{\omega}\theta \,\, \emph{\emph{\lambda}}'.$ 

(m. 3) [Αὐρή]λιος Πεττῖρις προςφω[νῶ] ὡς πρόκειται.
[Α]ὐρήλιος Πεττῖρις ἐπιδέδωκα προςφωνῶν
20 ὡς πρζόκειται⟩.

1  $\ddot{v}$ πατειας? 2 φλαν $\ddot{v}$ 0 8 l.  $\Pi$ εττίριος 14 . , ταλ',  $\times$  14–15 Parts of this line and the next appear to have been re-inked 16 First  $\tau$  of  $\Pi$ εττ $\dot{v}$ ρες added 18  $\pi$ ετ $\dot{v}$ τιρις

'In the consulship of our masters Flavius Valerius Constantinus and Licinianus Licinius Augusti, for the 2nd time.

'From the guild of the oil-workers of the same city, through me Aurelius' (added; m. 2?) 'Pettiris son of Pa...' (m. 1) 'In accordance with orders, [at my own risk I declare the price below for the] goods [which I handle], and I swear the divine oath that I have not been deceitful. As follows:

'Vegetable-seed 1 art. tal.' (added; m. 2?) '2, den. 250'

(m. 1) 'The same consulship, Thoth 30.'

(m. 3) 'I, Aurelius Pettiris, declare as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Pettiris, presented this, making my declaration as aforesaid.'

5-6 ἐλαιουργοί are discussed briefly by Z. Borkowski, Une descr. topogr. des immeubles à Panopolis (Warsaw 1975) 71-2. That the oil they handled was not olive oil is clear from λαχανοςπέρμου in 14 here (partly restored) and in 3760 12 (cf. n.). (Olive oil is discussed by A. Wittenburg, ZPE 38 (1980) 185 9, and also posited by

A. M. Tromp, Stud. Pap. 21 (1982) 39-40. On olive cultivation in Egypt see A. Lucas, Anc. Egyptian Materials and Industries (4th edn. rev. J. R. Harris) 333-5.)

7 For the prior classification of the guild's representative as an Aurelius cf. J. G. Keenan, ZPE 53 (1983) 245-50, esp. 246. Filler-stroke at the end of the line; whether it is by the first or the second hand is not clear.

10-11 Unless there were abbreviations (e.g.  $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\nu c\theta(\epsilon\hat{\iota}\epsilon\iota\nu)$  in 9, cf. 3737 10), space is tight for restoring the formula as in 3739. Did the writer omit  $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\dot{\epsilon}\nu\eta\nu$  as in 3737 and 3740?

14 [λαχανο]ςπέρμου. Cf. 3760 12.

16-20 Cf. 3737 21 n.

20 The sentence was never finished; only the loop of rho was written.

### 3739. DECLARATION OF PRICES

13 1B.212-213/A (g)

Height 25 cm

27 September 312

This declaration by the condiment-sellers of Oxyrhynchus (cf. 3761) is the third in the contemporary sequence 3737-40 (see 3737 introd.) and is mostly preserved or restorable except for the items declared, ll. 15-23 (see n.).

For a discussion of the handwritings of the four-document sequence, see 3737 introd.

[ὑπατείας τῶν δες]ποτῶν ἡμῶν [Φλαουίου Οὐα]λερίου Κωνςταντίνου κᾳὶ [Λικιν] γιανοῦ Λικινίου [Cεβα]ςτῶν τὸ βʃ".

5 [Οὐα]λερ[ίω] Ήρωνι τῷ καὶ Cαραπίωνι [λογιςτῆ 'Ο]ξυρυγχίτου

[παρὰ τοῦ] κοινοῦ τῶν ἀρτυματοπω-

 $[\lambda \hat{\omega} \nu \ \tau \hat{\eta} \epsilon]$  αὐτ $\hat{\eta} \epsilon \pi \delta \lambda \epsilon \omega \epsilon$  (added; m. 2?)  $\delta \iota(\dot{\alpha})$   $E\dot{v}$ -

[αγγέλου? ...]. ωνος. (m. 1) ἀκολούθως

10 [τοῖς κελευς]θεῖςιν ἰδίω τιμήματι

 $[\pi\rho\sigma c\phi\omega]\nu[\hat{\omega}]\;\tau\dot{\eta}\nu\;\dot{\epsilon}\xi\dot{\eta}\epsilon\;\dot{\epsilon}\nu\gamma\epsilon-$ 

[γραμμένη] ν τιμήν ὧν χιρίζω

[ωνίων κ]αὶ ὀμνύ[ω] τὸν θεῖον

 $[\mathring{o}$ ρκον  $\mu]\mathring{\eta}$  ἐψε $\mathring{v}$ ε $\mathring{q}$ αμ. ἔς $\tau$ [ι  $\delta$ ]έ·

15 . [....]ov (ἀρτάβης) a [

[ ]  $(\mathring{a}\rho\tau \acute{a}\beta\eta c) a \tau \acute{a}\lambda(a\nu\tau o\nu)$  (added; m. 2?) a ( $\delta\eta\nu \acute{a}\rho\iota a$ )  $\psi$ 

(m. 1) . [  $(\mathring{a}\rho\tau\acute{a}\beta\eta\epsilon)\ a'\ (\delta\eta\nu\acute{a}\rho\iota a)$  (added; m. 2?)  $\psi_{V}$ 

(m. i)  $\mu$ . [ ]....  $\epsilon$   $\delta \epsilon \epsilon \mu (\iota \delta i \circ v) \alpha' (\delta \eta \nu \alpha \rho \iota \alpha)$  (added; m. 2?)  $\kappa \epsilon$ 

8 δι΄ 11–12 l. ἐγγεγραμμένην 12 l. χειρίζω 15 ff. - 16 ταλ΄ So in 22, 23  $\times$  So in 17–21, 23 18 δεςμ΄

 $\epsilon i\delta(\delta \tau o c)$ .

$$(m. 1) \quad \kappa [ \quad ]. \quad (\mathring{a}\rho\tau \acute{a}\beta\eta c) \ a \quad (\delta\eta\nu \acute{a}\rho\iota a) \quad (added; m. 2?) \ \emph{A}cν \\ (m. 1) \quad .... [ \quad ] \quad (\mathring{a}\rho\tau \acute{a}\beta\eta c) \ a \quad (\delta\eta\nu \acute{a}\rho\iota a) \quad (added; m. 2?) \ \emph{A}cν \\ (m. 1) \quad .[ \quad ]. \quad c \quad (\mathring{a}\rho\tau \acute{a}\beta\eta c) \ a \quad (\delta\eta\nu \acute{a}\rho\iota a) \quad (added; m. 2?) \ \emph{A}cν \\ (m. 1) \quad .[ \quad ]. \quad (\mathring{a}\rho\tau \acute{a}\beta\eta c?) \ a \quad \tau \acute{a}\lambda (a\nu\tau o\nu) \quad (added; m. 2?) \ a \\ (m. 1) \quad [ \quad ] \quad (\mathring{a}\rho\tau \acute{a}\beta\eta c) \ a \quad \tau \acute{a}\lambda (a\nu\tau o\nu) \quad (added; m. 2?) \ a \\ (m. 1) \quad [ \quad \mathring{a}\rho\tau \acute{a}\beta\eta c) \ a \quad \tau \acute{a}\lambda (a\nu\tau o\nu) \quad (added; m. 2?) \ a \\ (m. 1) \quad [ \quad \mathring{b}\eta\nu \acute{a}\rho\iota a) \ \rlap{\psi}\rlap{\psi} \\ (m. 1) \quad [ \quad \mathring{b}\eta\nu \acute{a}\rho\iota a) \ \rlap{\psi}\rlap{\psi} \\ (m. 2) \quad A[ \quad \mathring{b}\rho \acute{a}\nu \acute{a}\rho \acute{a}\rho \acute{a}\nu \acute{a}\rho \acute{a}\rho \acute{a}\nu \acute{a}\nu \acute{a}\rho \acute{a}\nu \acute{a}\rho \acute{a}\nu \acute{a}\nu \acute{a}\rho \acute{a}\nu \acute{a}\nu \acute{a}\rho \acute{a}\nu \acute{a}\rho \acute{a}\nu \acute{a}\nu \acute{a}\rho \acute{a}\nu \acute{a}\nu \acute{a}\nu \acute{a}\rho \acute{a}\nu \acute{a}\nu \acute{a}\nu \acute{a}\rho \acute{a}\nu \acute{a}\nu \acute{a}\rho \acute{a}\nu \acute{a}\nu \acute{a}\nu \acute{a}\rho \acute{a}\nu \acute$$

25  $\pi \rho o^{\kappa}$ ? 26  $\epsilon \gamma \rho / v$ ),  $\gamma \rho / \epsilon \iota^{\delta}$ 

'In the consulship of our masters Flavius Valerius Constantinus and Licinianus Licinius Augusti, for the 2nd time.

'To Valerius Heron alias Sarapion, curator of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the condiment-sellers of the same city, through' (added; m. 2?) 'Evangelus son of -on.' (m. 1) 'In accordance with orders, at my own risk I declare the price entered below for the goods which I handle, and I swear the divine oath that I have not been deceitful. As follows:

(m. 1) 'The same consulship, Thoth 30.'

(m. 3?) 'I, Aurelius Evangelus, make my declaration as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Horion(?), wrote on his behalf as he is illiterate.'

15–23 The items here should be identical with those declared in 3761 6–14. The number of items is the same. Unfortunately, comparing 3739 18–19 with 3761 9–10 (the fourth and fifth items in each case) makes it clear that the order in the two lists must be different (surprisingly, contrasting the regularity, say, in the lists submitted by the  $\mu\nu\rho\sigma n\hat{\omega}\lambda a\iota$ ), thus making it impossible to supplement the items. Equally ],  $\epsilon$  here from the seventh item (l. 21) will not square with the seventh item in 3761 12,  $\kappa\nu\eta\kappa\sigma\nu$ .

18 For the δεςμίδιον as a unit of measurement cf. 3765 9.

26 For the restoration of Horion's name see 3740 introd., and Appendix IV below.

# 3740. DECLARATION OF PRICES

13 1B.212-213/A (g) Height 25 cm 27 September 312

This declaration of prices to the logistes by the guild of tavern-keepers (cf. 3762) is the fourth (and final one to have survived) in the contemporary sequence 3737-40 (see 3737 introd.).

For a discussion of the handwritings of the four-document sequence see 3737 introd. It is not clear whether the  $\dot{\nu}\pi o\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\epsilon\dot{\nu}c$  Aurelius Horion, who clearly also inserted the prices and the names of the  $\mu\eta\nu\iota\dot{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\iota$ , might not also be identified with the  $\dot{\nu}\pi o\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\epsilon\dot{\nu}c$  of 3739. Apparent differences in the script could perhaps be attributed to use of a different pen. For Horion see Appendix IV below.

The document was drafted in expectation of one declarant. For the scribal havoc created by two declarants turning up, see the app. crit. on 8 and 13 and 8-10, 12, 14nn.

```
ύπατείας [τω]ν δεςποτών
            ήμῶν Φλαυίου Οὐαλερίου
            Κωνςταντίνου καὶ Λικιννιαν[ο] ῦ
            Λικινίου ζεβαςτών τὸ β[ ' '.
            Οὐαλερίω ή[ρ]ωνι τῶ καὶ ζαρα-
               πίωνι λογιττή 'Οξυρυγχ (ίτου)
            παρὰ [τοῦ] κοινοῦ τῶν καπήλων
            \tau \hat{\eta} \in [a \vec{v} \tau \hat{\eta} \epsilon] \pi \delta \lambda \epsilon \omega \epsilon \delta \iota(\dot{a}) \text{ (m. 2) } \dot{\eta} \mu \hat{\omega} \nu
            Θεοδ[ώρου] ζαραπίωνος καὶ
               Διο[δώρου] Διονυςίου μη(νιαρχῶν). (m. 1) ἀκολού-
     10
            θω[ς τοις κελευ]ς θεις ιν ίδ[ί]ω τι-
            μήμα τι προςφωνο βιμέν την έ-
            ξή[ς τιμήν ὧν] χιρίζομεν ἀνίων
            κ[αὶ ὀμνύομεν τὸ] ν θεῖον ὅρκον μὴ
                                              ἔςτι δέ·
            \dot{\epsilon}\psi\epsilon[\hat{v}\epsilon\theta\alpha\iota.]
     15
               οἴν[ov] Oa] ξιτικοῦ ξ(ϵςτου) α (δηνάρια) (m. 2) οϵ
               κνι[δίου Θ]ηβαϊκοῦ ξ(έςτου) α (δηνάρια) (m. 2) οε
(m. 1)
(m. 1)
            \dot{\nu}\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon[\dot{\alpha}c\ \tau\hat{\eta}]c\ \alpha\dot{\nu}\tau\hat{\eta}c,\ \Theta\dot{\omega}\theta\ \lambda'.
               Αὐρή[λι]οι Θεόδωρος καὶ Διόδωρος
(m. 2)
               προ[c] φωνουμεν ώς πρόκειται. Αὐρ(ήλιος) 'Ωρί-
     20
                [ων ἔ]γρ(αψα) ὑ(πὲρ) αὐτῶν γρ(άμματα) μὴ εἰδότων.
```

Ι  $\ddot{\nu}$ πατειας 2 φλαν $\ddot{\nu}$ 0 6 οξυρυγ<sup>X</sup>? 8 δι'; δ re-inked by m. 2 Not certain whether the second hand's heavily-inked  $\dot{\eta}$ μ $\dot{\omega}$ ν has been written over anything ( $\dot{\epsilon}$ μο $\dot{\nu}$ 0) by the first hand 10 μη Γ ΙΙ  $\ddot{\nu}$ 13 χιρίζομεν corr. from χιρίζω; l. χειρίζομεν 17 θηβα $\ddot{\nu}$ 6 υπατειας? 19 Horizontal mark in margin close to line-beginning, cf. 20 20 Unexplained horizontal mark before προςφωνο $\dot{\nu}$ μεν, cf. 19 αυρ΄ 21 εγρ $\dot{\nu}$ 10, γρ $\dot{\nu}$ 10 υπατειας?

'In the consulship of our masters Flavius Valerius Constantinus and Licinianus Licinius Augusti, for the 2nd time.

'To Valerius Heron alias Sarapion, *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the tavern-keepers of the same city, through' (m. 2) 'us Theodorus son of Sarapion and Diodorus son of Dionysius, monthly presidents.'

(m. 1) 'In accordance with orders, at our own risk we declare the price below for the goods which we handle, and we swear the divine oath that we have not been deceitful. As follows:

'Oasite wine 1 sextarius den.' (m. 2) '75' (m. 1) 'Theban (wine) of Cnidian type 1 sextarius den.' (m. 2) '75'

(m. 1) 'The same consulship, Thoth 30.'

(m. 2) We, Aurelii Theodorus and Diodorus, make our declaration as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Horion, wrote on their behalf as they are illiterate.'

7 While  $\kappa \acute{a}\pi \eta \lambda o \iota$  (= caupo, cauponarius, tabernarius CGL) elsewhere can indicate a different or less specific occupation, it is clear that here they are wine-merchants or rather tavern-keepers, declaring the price of two types of wine. M. San Nicolò, Ag. Vereinswesen (2nd edn., Munich 1972) i 133-4 discusses the development of this specialized meaning of the term. It is odd that the  $\kappa \acute{a}\pi \eta \lambda o\iota$  as a class seemingly did not stock Oxyrhynchite wine, listed in 3765 5, where it must be derived from the declaration of a different guild.

8-10 The first hand left space at the end of 8 and before ἀκολού- in the line following, sufficient for a single declarant. The second hand has squeezed in more than was planned for, and ἀκολού- printed as if ending 10 is

in fact physically sandwiched by 9-10 as inserted by the second hand.

12 προςφωνο]  $\hat{y}$ μεν. The ductus is far from clear. A correction from προςφωνώ is expected.

13 Space precludes inclusion of έγγεγραμμένην before τιμήν. Cf. 3737 12.

14 ομνύομεν will presumably have been corrected from ομνύω, cf. the app. crit. on 13.

16-17 Cf. 3762 15-16 and 3765 3-4. For Oasite wine cf. XLVIII 3425 1n. The other variety here is less straightforward. The other two occurrences assure the reading. Geographical adjectives or adjectival nouns such as κνίδιον when encountered in papyri are often taken to describe a particular style and size of jar (as indeed κυίδιον does in 3748 15; and cf. V. Grace and J.-Y. Empereur, BIFAO 81 suppl. (1981) 424-5) rather than refer to genuine imported wine or other commodity; but such cannot quite be the case here. The volume is specified, namely the sextarius, and the addition of a second unit of volume would make no sense; in any case the measurement-units do not normally precede the item. Moreover, the provenance is given as the Thebaid, Θηβαϊκοῦ, so that we cannot have a reference to imported Cnidian wine. I believe we have to understand the description here as "Cnidian" (wine), made in the Thebaid', or more freely Theban (wine) of Cnidian type'. Cf. M. Schnebel, Die Landwirtschaft 251-2; O. Lund 12. 6-7n.; also H. Cockle, JRS 71 (1981) 95 with the reference to H. C. Youtie, Scriptiunculae I 154-5 (note the caveat on p. 170).

The abbreviation for  $\xi(\acute{\epsilon} c \tau o v)$  is the usual one of a xi cut by an oblique stroke rising to the right at a shallow

19-21 A fold on the surface as manufactured interrupts the writing in the middle of these lines, giving  $\theta$  εοδωρος, ]φωνο υμεν and αυ των.

# 3741. OFFICIAL DAYBOOK

70/16 (a)

 $49.7 \times 15.3$  cm.

2 September-7 October ?313

3741 preserves part of an official daybook. The official concerned is nowhere clearly specified. The logistes is cited in 59, and certain sections (5-8, 39-40) record matters that fall within the sphere of his activity. Yet 62, following on 59, appears to exclude him as the official whose decisions are recorded at intervals. In both format and brevity the daybook is in contrast with the long transversa charta reports of hearings or series of hearings exemplified elsewhere in this volume. For other examples of daybooks cf. XLII 3072-4. 3741 gives the lie to the statement of E. Bickermann, Aeg. 13 (1933) 346, that Diocletian did away with the keeping of official journals.

The papyrus is written across the fibres and preserves the lower parts of four columns plus traces of a fifth (the occasional traces of line-beginnings of this, never more

than one letter, are not transcribed). Preserved dates run from Thoth 6 (l. 13, = 3/4 September; ll. 1–12 presumably all date to Thoth 5) till Phaophi 10 (l. 63: = 7/8 October). There is a wide margin of 7 cm to the left of col. i and it is a fair assumption that this was the first column of the roll and that the roll started with Thoth 1 = 29/30 August.

A curiosity of the daybook, apart from the frequency with which the level of business transacted was  $o\vec{v}\delta\acute{e}\nu$ , is the entry  $\Delta\iota\acute{o}c$  occurring regularly every seven days (ll. 13 (Thoth 6), 18 (Thoth 13), 36 (Thoth 27), 44 (Phaophi 4)). On none of these  $\Delta\iota\acute{o}c$ -days are transactions of any kind recorded.  $\Delta\iota\acute{o}c$  presumably = dies Iovis, i.e. Thursday: cf. e.g. CCAG VIII. 3 p. 192. For days of the week cf. XLIV 3174 17 n. with references (the wooden tablet referred to there is redated to 327 in place of 294 by R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, BASP 17 (1980) 17, while a revised edition of Bickermann, Chronology, appeared in 1980); D. R. Jordan, Hesp. 54 (1985) 215. For the regular cessation of official business on Thursdays perhaps compare Caesarius of Arles, Sermones 13. 5 (also 19.4 and 52.2; we owe these references to Dr Holford-Strevens); there may be a hint of the practice in XXII 2343 8-9 (29 December 287), see R. A. Coles, ZPE 61 (1985) 113.

The date of 3741 should probably be 313. The calculation is as follows: if Thoth 6 (l. 13 = 3/4 September) and every seventh day following was a Thursday, use of V. Grumel, La Chronologie 316 shows that in the early fourth century possible years are 302, 307, 313, 324, 330, and so on. 302 and 307 can be excluded because they antedate the date of the document on the front of 3741 (mid 313: see below) while 330 and later dates postdate the fall of Licinius, after which, because of Constantine's legislation on Sunday observance, we ought not to find official bureaux routinely closed on Thursdays (contrast 3759 introd. and 38n.). 324 is theoretically possible because 3 September in that year still precedes the fall of Licinius (news of which would not have reached Oxyrhynchus by the latest date on the papyrus), but 313 is much more likely as yielding a very plausible interval after which the document on the front that came in to the logistes' bureau would have been discarded for reuse. (Intervals evidenced by these texts from the logistes' bureau range from a possible one month (3766-7) to possibly nearly twenty years (see 3756-8 introd.).) Perhaps this attractive interval is too short. The earliest day on 3741 would have been 29 August if the year were 313, see above. The petition on the front must fall between 28 July and 13 September 313, see below; this interval reduces to 28 July-29 August if the daybook dates to the same year. This leaves a very brief time for the petition to remain on file, and would of course have consequences, albeit very hypothetical ones, for the date of the death of Maximinus Daia and the date by which the consular change to Constantine alone was known in Egypt. Nevertheless so rapid a reuse of the back of the petition for a record starting Thoth 1 has a compact neatness which is very persuasive.

This petition on the front, from a woman to the logistes and dated 313, is extensive but too damaged to yield connected sense beyond its first four lines. It is written along the fibres upside down in relation to the daybook. The text opens as follows:  $^1$ (m. 1 or m. 3?)  $\mathring{v}\pi\alpha\tau(a[c\ \tau]o\mathring{v}\ \delta\epsilon\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\tau ov\ \mathring{\eta}\mu\mathring{\omega}\nu\ \Phi\lambda\alpha\upsilon(o[v]\ O\mathring{v}a\lambda\epsilon\rho\acute{o}v\ K\omega\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\nu ov\ C\epsilon\beta\alpha\epsilon\tau o[\hat{v}\ \tau\grave{o}]\ \chi''$ .

,

 $^{2}$ (m. 2) O $\dot{v}$ αλέριος Aμμωνιανὸς ὁ καὶ  $\Gamma$ ερόντιος λογιςτης  $^{2}O$ ξυρυγχίτου A $\dot{v}$ ρηλίω Cαρα $\pi$ ίωνι πραι(ποςίτω) πάγου τ $\hat{\omega}$  φιλτάτ $\omega$  χαίρειν. τ $\hat{\omega}$ ν δοθέντ $\omega$ ν μοι βιβλί $\omega$ ν ὑπὸ  $\llbracket το\hat{\upsilon} \rrbracket$  τ $\hat{\eta}$ ς  $\epsilon$ γγεγραμμ $\epsilon$ ν $\parallel$ ου  $\parallel$ ης ἴςον  $\epsilon$ πιςτ $\epsilon$ λλ $\epsilon$ ταί τοι ὅπως  $\lceil 3 
m{(m. 1)}$  Οὐαλ $\epsilon$ ρίωι Άμμωνιαν $\hat{\omega}$  τ $\hat{\omega}$  καὶ  $\Gamma$ εροντίω λογιττ $\hat{\eta}$  'Οξυρυγ $[\chi(\tau o v)]$   $^4$ παρά Aυρηλίας Tεχωςο $\hat{v}_{\tau}[o]$ ς τ $\hat{\eta}$ ς καὶ Eυδαιμονίδος θυγα[τρο]ς Διδύμου τοῦ καὶ Εὐδαίμονο[c] καὶ ώς  $\chi[\rho]$ ηματίζει ἀπὸ τῆς λα $[\mu(\pi \rho \hat{a}c)]$  καὶ  $\lambda a\mu (\pi \rho o \tau \acute{a} \tau \eta c)$  'Οξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως. ὁ ὑπ..... [ (much-damaged remains of ten further lines). The very wide lines were once wider still although the end of 3 suggests that not much has been lost. The last preserved line was apparently a short one, but the document probably continued below that; if not, it will have been of unusual proportions. (Comparison of Il. 14-16 (col. i) on the back with I. 17 (top of col. ii) shows that a minimum of four lines has been lost there at the top of col. ii.) The consular formula (1) is of interest since it records a stage hitherto unattested in the papyri, see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt 106-7. The month is not preserved but the date should fall between 28 July and 13 September, cf. P. Sakaon 6. 13-14 and XLIII 3144 1-2n. That terminal date must move earlier (into August) if the daybook on the back also dates from 313, see above. In any case the petition probably belongs nearer the beginning of the interval, since it represents a stage after it was known to omit Maximinus Daia from the formula but before the knowledge of his replacement by Licinius; while a further reason would be to maximize the petition's potential life on file, a month at most if the daybook on its reverse is to be assigned to the same year. Regardless of these refinements, the date will fall within the known limits of tenure of the logistes Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, for whom see Appendix I below. The address to him (3) is pretentiously written in a large script with the words well spaced out. The smaller script of 4 ff. is presumably in the same hand. Ample space was left above the address for the insertion of the logistes' instructions by a second hand (2). It is not clear whether the consular date above that is by yet another hand or by the writer of the main text. In 4 the size of omicron and the spacing suggest the articulation  $\delta$   $\delta \pi$ - at the end. Three kolleseis are preserved, giving visible sheet widths between them of 16 and 14.5 cm.

```
ξδοξ(εν) οὕτω γίγγεςθαι.

               , ἄλλο [ , ]η[ , ] , , , [ , ] , , ς καὶ Θεοδώρα πρ(\dot{o}c?) Ἀριαν[\dot{o}]ν
                            \pi(\epsilon\rho\grave{\imath})οἰκίας. ἔδο\xi(\epsilon\nu) καὶ τὸν υἰωνὸ[\nu]
       10
                                 'Ηράκλειον λαβείν τὴν μοίραν τῆς
                                \ldots \llbracket ov \rrbracket.
                   ,5 Dióc.
                    ζ τειμής ιχθυηράς ένεκεν άνεδ
                          άλιέων δοθέντων είς λειτουργίαν
       15
                          ώς κατά την του καθολικού κέλευ[ςιν.]
                                                Col. ii
                                          [ιβ
                         o\dot{v}\delta\dot{\epsilon}]v.
                    ιγ' Διός.
                    ιδ΄ οὐδέν.
                         Cερηνος Διοςκουρίδου ήξ ίως εν
                  ,1€
       20
                         κας ἐπιδιδούς δανίου (ταλάντων?) μ[
                         \tau \hat{\eta} πόλει \hat{v}(\pi \hat{\epsilon} \rho) ὀνόματος \Theta \epsilon[
                         πιδος γυν (αικός) 'Ωρίωνος αρ. [
                         λαβείν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα.
                               έδοξ(εν) ούτω γίγνεςθαι.
       25
                   ις οὐδέν.
                   ιζ οὐδέν.
                        Mαξεντίου \pi(\epsilon \rho i) \pi \iota \epsilon
                   ιη
                             κ, ε( ) ργ Μακεδο.....
                                               Col. iii
                                            . . .
                           ]..[
      30
                  ,κβ οὐδέν.
                  ,κη οὐδέν.
                  ,κδ οὐδέν.
                  , κε οὐδέν.
                           10 π΄, εδοξ΄, ΰιωνον 14 l. τιμῆς; i \chi \theta v \eta \rho a c 21 l. δανείου \iota: or 25 εδοξ΄ 28 π΄ 29 \epsilon f
    8 εδοξ΄
                 9 ρ)
p 22 v)
             23 \gamma v^{\nu}
                          25 €δοξ΄
```

```
οὐδέν.
        155
35
        ,κζ Διός.
        ,κη οὐδέν.
        , κθ οὐδέν.
        , λ π(ερὶ) λύς εως διαθήκης . [...]... χαμβρᾶς
                      Απίου παρέδρου [vac.?]
40
       , Φαῶφι α΄ οὐδέν.
            \beta
               οὐδέν.
            , γ οὐδέν.
            ,δ
                 Διός.
            , ε Αςκληπιάδης ἐπιμελητής ἀκμιναλίων
45
                  οπου κατέθετο αἰτιώμενος ώς τρο-
                     φῶν μὴ δοθειςῶν ταῖς μούλαις.
                               Col. iv
```

. . ].[ ] , *\in* [ 50 ιδοξ(εν) υπερτ. [date o] $\dot{v}\delta\dot{\epsilon}v$ . [date]  $o\dot{v}\delta\dot{\epsilon}v$ . [date]  $\zeta \alpha \rho \alpha \pi [i] \omega \gamma$  [.].  $\alpha \dot{\lambda}$ ..[ ].  $\pi$ .... $\circ\iota$ .  $\tau$ [ 55 ]... τους ἔχειν τὰς ἀγωγάς.  $\epsilon \delta \delta \delta (\epsilon v)$  την  $\epsilon \delta \kappa \delta \delta (\epsilon v)$  την  $\epsilon \delta \kappa \delta \delta \delta \delta (\epsilon v)$ τοῖς ὑπομ(νήμαςι). ἄλλο δ λοχ(ιστής) ήξίως εν....κοτας πληρώςαι τοὺς δανιςτάς ἐπὶ 60 τριετεί χρόνω. ἔδοξ(εν) οὕτω γίγνεςθαι. π(ερὶ) ἐξετάςεως ἀπελαςίας βοός

39 π΄ 47 ταῖς corr. from τοῖς 51  $\epsilon$ δοξ΄? 57  $\epsilon$ δοξ΄, αναλημφ<sup>θ</sup> 58 υπομ $\int$  59 λοχ( ): form of abbreviation not clear because of damage to the papyrus 60 l. δανειςτάς 62  $\epsilon$ δοξ΄ 63 π΄

112 OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS Col. i 3 'Decided: to transfer the matter up to the procurator Heptanomiae(?). 'Another. . . . , a Libyan woman, through Castor, concerning the necessity . . . wife . . . foreigner . . . to be handed over for burial. Decided: that this should be done. 'Another. ... and Theodora against Arianus(?) concerning a house. Decided: the grandson also, Heraclius, should receive the share of the . . . '7th On account of the value of the fishing-concession (a list?) was submitted of fishermen presented for liturgy in accordance with the order of the rationalis.' Col. ii 17 '12th Nothing. '13th dies Iovis. '14th Nothing. '15th Serenus son of Dioscurides requested . . . presenting . . . a loan of 1[?] talents(?) . . . to the city in the name of The-...-pis wife of Horion ... to receive his property. Decided: that this should be done. '16th Nothing. '17th Nothing. '18th Maxentius(?) concerning . . . ' Col. iii 31 '22nd Nothing. '23rd Nothing. '24th Nothing. '25th Nothing. '26th Nothing. '27th dies Iovis. '28th Nothing. '29th Nothing. '30th Concerning the opening of the will of . . . sister-in-law(?) of Apius(?), assessor . . . 'Phaophi 1 Nothing. '2nd Nothing. '3rd Nothing. '4th dies Iovis. Asclepiades, in charge of baggage-animals somewhere (?), made a deposition containing an accusation '5th that the mules were not given their fodder.' Col. iv 51 'Decided: . . . [Date] Nothing. [Date] Nothing. [Date] Sarapion . . . to have the right of procedure.

Decided: the letter to be incorporated into the minutes.

'Another. The curator requested that . . . should refund the creditors over a three-year period.

Decided: that this should be done.

'10th Concerning an inquiry into the driving-off of an ox.'

r Trace is a long diagonal, not from  $\epsilon$  ( = Thoth 5), not a check mark (cf. 5 etc.), not I think from ἄλλο (cf. 5 etc.) 5, 9, etc.: if stroke were from first  $\lambda$ , cf. 9, more traces should be visible). Possibly cf. unexplained marks at the beginning of 10 and elsewhere, see 16 n.

3-4 For the procurator Heptanomiae cf. J. Lallemand, L'Admin. civile 261, and XLII 3031 and L 3573. Or  $\tau \hat{\eta} [\epsilon \pi \rho \iota o v \acute{a} -]^4 [\tau \eta] \varsigma$ ?

5 7 These lines obviously summarize a hearing regarding apertura testamenti or more specifically the burial

2

arrangements that may conclude such hearings: cf., for  $\tau\hat{\eta}$  όcί $\alpha$  παραδοθ $\hat{\eta}$ ναι, 3758 153, 210. Cf. also 39-40 below.

6 Οτ Ξενικού?

- 14 τειμῆς ἰχθυηρᾶς ἔνεκεν. The precise implications of this phrase are unclear. I take it that the absence of a number of fishermen on liturgical duties would lead to a drop in the revenues from the fishing-concession, whether rents or taxes or both, hence the interest in a list of such persons. Possibly ἀνεδ(όθη) χρ(αφή)? For ἰχθυηρᾶς cf. e.g. XLVI 3270 6 and P. Harr. II 194; for fishing in general see the bibliography collected in XLIX 3495.
- 16 In the margin an unexplained mark, similar to a cursive Latin q. Identical marks occur in the margin beside 29, 46-7, and 61. A damaged mark in the margin beside 10 may have been similar. Also cf. 1 n. The mark beside 40 is different, see n. There is a small further mark, different, in the margin midway between 42 and 43; this may be accidental.
- 17-19 Ink traces to the right of the text as printed are perhaps to be explained as offsets. More offsets interfere with 21.

21 See 17-19n.

28 First two letters of  $Ma\xi\epsilon\nu\tau$ iov obscured by blots, offsets or a correction.  $A\dot{\psi}\xi\epsilon\nu\tau$ iov is a possible alternative. If  $Ma\xi\epsilon\nu\tau$ iov is correct and this person was named after Maximian's son, the latter's date of birth (c. 283?) becomes relevant. See T. D. Barnes, The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine 34.

39-40 For hearings on apertura testamenti cf. 3758 134-55 and 181-213; also 5-7 above.

- 40 In the margin an unexplained mark, similar to the rough-breathing sign in literary papyri. Cf. 16 n.
- 45 ἀκμιναλίων. Lat. agminalium. See TLL s.v. agminalis, with especially D. Just. 50. 4. 18. 21 agminales . . . mulae (μούλαις here in 47). The Greek form seems not to have occurred before, nor is this particular variety of  $\epsilon \pi \iota \mu \epsilon \lambda \eta \tau \dot{\eta} c$  attested (N. Lewis, The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt (= Pap. Flor. XI) 27-8).

46 If ὅπρυ is not a substitute for the unknown name of the place where Asclepiades was active, it may be

relative (meaning 'since') and the entry will then have continued into the next column.

55-6 It is difficult to assess the number of letters lost at the line beginnings because of the probability of a staggered layout, cf. 45-7 and earlier. It seems almost certain that 54-8 all belong to the same day because only four days are to be accommodated between 45-7 (Phaophi 5) and 63 (Phaophi 10), with new days definitely at 52, 53, and 54.

56 ἀγωγάς. Probably to be understood in its legal sense of actio. Cf. e.g. XVII 2111 3 n.

#### 3742. Declaration of Prices

4 1B. 76/m 10.2 × 23.9 cm 26 November 317

A declaration of the price of glass, by weight, addressed to the logistes Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius (for whom see Appendix I below) by the guild of glassworkers of Oxyrhynchus. For the glassworkers see P. Coll. Youtie II 81 (= XLV 3265). 5 and n. They recur in the list PUG I 24 (ii 8). 3742 is the text referred to in P. Coll. Youtie II 81. 15 n.

On the back are the first five lines from a report of proceedings, written transversa charta, probably before the logistes. The date is 15 December 325, in the consulship of Paulinus and Julianus (cf. 3756 26 n.), the location in  $\tau \hat{\varphi}$   $Ko\rho l \hat{\varphi}$  (cf. 3759 1).

Analysis of the handwriting is not totally straightforward. For the regular format cf. 3731 introd. The expected additions in 5-6 and 13 (the names in 5-6 clearly added, the price in 13 less so) are not obviously the work either of the main scribe or of Aurelius Pathermouthis who wrote the subscription.

At the extreme left edge there are traces of a four-layer kollesis (the original manufacturer's joins would be of three-layer type, see LI 3624-6 introd.). Was the roll of

declarations a  $\tau \delta \mu o c c v \gamma \kappa \delta \lambda \dot{\eta} c \iota \mu o c$ ? This would be unexpected; a possible example of this format, rare in guild declarations, is 3731. Alternatively, the traces may be from a repair patch; or the discarded declaration-roll was cut up for reuse on the back, and 3742—neatly cut up its left margin—had the declarations that once preceded it replaced with some other document(s), pasted on to take the report of proceedings on the back. At the extreme right edge there are remains of another kollesis, again four layers thick: this time 3742 overlaps the writing on the strip of a document attached to it, which is upsidedown relative to 3742. Clearly there is no question here of a  $\tau \delta \mu o c c v \gamma \kappa o \lambda \lambda \dot{\eta} c \iota \mu o c$ , nor is there need of a join here to extend the area for reuse on the back, since we have the beginning of the report of proceedings (written transversa charta) on the back, and the right edge of 3742 is the top margin of the proceedings. Probably the surviving 1.5 cm.-wide strip was all that was ever attached to 3742 and was there as a strengthening strip (for 3742 or for the proceedings). It may itself have been cut from a price-declaration, since  $]\tau a\lambda[$  is visible. Whether 3742 had been neatly cut up its right margin (as well as its left?), or whether it was conceivably the last declaration on the roll, we cannot say.

[Οὐαλερίω] Άμμωνιαν[ῷ τῷ καὶ]  $[\Gamma \epsilon \rho o \nu \tau i] \omega \lambda o \gamma \iota c \tau \hat{\eta} O \xi \nu \rho \nu \gamma \chi i \tau [o \nu]$ [παρὰ τοῦ] κοινοῦ τῶν ὑελουργῶν [τῆς λ]αμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) 'Οξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλεως [δι' έμο] û Αὐρηλίου (m. 2) Άριζω νος [....] του. (m. 1) ἀκολούθως [τοῖς κ] ελευςθεῖςιν ιδίω τιμήμα-[τι προ] ςφωνῶ τὴν έξης ἐνγε-[γ]ρ[α]μμένην τιμήν ὧν χιρίζω ώνίων καὶ ὀμνύω τὸν 10 θείον ὅρκον μηδὲν διεψεῦςθαι. ἔςτι δέ ύέλου όλκηι  $\kappa \epsilon \nu \tau (\eta \nu \alpha \rho i o v) \alpha \tau \dot{\alpha} \lambda (\alpha \nu \tau \alpha) \text{ (m. 2) } \delta.$ ύπατείας 'Οουϊνίου Γαλλικανοῦ (m. 1)καὶ Καιςωνίου Βάςςου τῶν 15 λαμπροτάτων, Άθὺρ λ-. Αὐρήλιος Άρείων ἐπιδέδωκα (m. 3)προςφωνών ώς πρόκ(ειται). Αὐρή(λιος) Παθερ-

3 ὐελουργων 4 λ]αμ∫, λαμ∫οξ΄ 5 l. Άρείωνος 6 First v re-inked 8–9 l. ἐγγεγραμμένην 9-10 l. χειρίζω 13 ὑελου, κεντ΄, ταλ΄ 14 ϋπατειαςοουϊνιου 15 v of τῶν rewritten 18 προ<sup>κ</sup>αυρη ? 19 εγρ∫υ∫, γρ∫

 $\mu \circ \hat{\theta} \iota c \ \check{\epsilon} \gamma \rho (\alpha \psi \alpha) \ \check{\upsilon} (\pi \grave{\epsilon} \rho) \ \alpha [\check{\upsilon}] \tau \circ \hat{\upsilon} \ \gamma \rho (\acute{\alpha} \mu \mu \alpha \tau \alpha) \ \mu \grave{\gamma} \ \epsilon \grave{\iota} \delta \acute{\sigma} \tau \circ [c].$ 

'To Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, curator of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the glassworkers of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through me Aurelius' (m. 2) 'Areion, son of...' (m. 1) 'In accordance with orders, at my own risk I declare the price entered below for the goods which I handle, and I swear the divine oath that I have been deceitful in nothing. As follows:

'Glass, by weight 100 lb. tal.' (m. 2) '4.'
'In the consulship of Ovinius Gallicanus and Caesonius Bassus, viri clarissimi, Hathyr 30.' (m. 1)
I, Aurelius Areion, have presented this, making my declaration as aforesaid. I,(mAy)relius Pathermouthis, wrote on his behalf as he is illiterate.'

13 The price here of 4 tal./100 lb. had increased by 326, just over  $8\frac{1}{2}$  years later, to 22 tal./100 lb., as P. Coll. Youtie II 81 (= XLV 3265).15 attests, an increase of 450% (not 550% as in P. Coll. Youtie II 81. 15 n.). The average annual percentage increase is 22.2%.

14-15 For the consuls see T. D. Barnes, The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine 95, 101; R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt 107.

### 3743. Declaration of Prices

A 21/6(i) (25.4.67)  $7 \times 23.2$  cm 318

This declaration of prices to the logistes by the guild of  $\lambda \epsilon \nu \kappa \alpha \nu \tau \alpha i$ , bleachers (see H. C. Youtie, ZPE 22 (1976) 63-4), is physically separate, but it was found in close proximity to **3744** and may, with **3745**, once have formed part of the same roll of declarations, drafted by the same hand. The year is the same throughout, but only in **3743** does a trace of the month survive and that trace is indeterminate.

3743 is of special prosopographical interest: supported by 3744 and 3745, it attests a brief period of office as logistes for Valerius Dioscurides alias Julianus earlier than his previously known tenure and interrupting the once apparently continuous tenure of Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, the result being that both officials have second periods of office. For fuller details see Appendix I below.

λευκανταί appear again in 3752 of the following year. Unfortunately the damage to 3743 prevents our knowing the effect of one year's inflation, other than that the price for the first item declared cannot have increased—if it increased at all—by more than 25 denarii, just over 1.5%.

The names of the  $\mu\eta\nu\iota\acute{a}\rho\chi\alpha\iota$  (9 ff.) and the prices declared (20 ff.) are expected to have been inserted by a second hand or at least added by the same hand (for the normal format cf. 3731 introd.). Here they are clearly by the same hand and it is far from obvious that they have been added. The denarius-sign in 20 is in an ink blacker than the ink generally is elsewhere in the document.

On the back, but along the fibres and thus at right angles to 3743, are the fragmentary remains of the last two lines of a report of proceedings before a logistes. The first line was partially deleted; the second runs  $|\delta \lambda o \gamma \iota c \tau \dot{\eta} c \epsilon \hat{\iota}(\pi \epsilon \nu) \cdot \dot{a} \chi [\theta \dot{\eta}] c o \nu \tau a \iota$ , the rest of that line and the remaining space below being blank.

```
[ύπα] τείας τῶν δεςποτῶ[ν]
            [ήμῶ]ν Λικινίου ζεβαςτοῦ τὸ ε[΄
            [καὶ Κ]ρίς [που τοῦ] ἐπιφανες τάτου
            [Kaic]a\rho[o]c\tau[oaf'.]
           [Οὐα]λερίω Διοςκουρίδη τῷ κ[αὶ]
      5
            [ 'Ιου ]λιανώ λογιςτή 'Οξυρυγχί[ το ] ψ
            [πα]ρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν λευκαν-
            [τῶ]ν τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) 'Οξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πό-
            [\lambda \epsilon \omega] c \delta i' \eta \mu \hat{\omega} v A \dot{v} \rho \eta \lambda i \omega v [M] q
            [ξί]μου ζαρμάτου καὶ Παθ[ε]ρ-
            [\mu o \nu] \theta i \rho' \nu' \zeta \alpha [\rho] \alpha [\pi i \omega \nu o c \mu] \eta \nu \iota
            [αρχῶν, ἀκολούθ]ως τοῖς
            [κελευςθείςιν ίδίω τι]μήμα-
            [\tau \iota] \pi \rho \circ c \phi [\omega \nu \circ \hat{\upsilon}] \mu \epsilon \nu \tau \dot{\eta} [\nu] \dot{\epsilon} \xi \hat{\eta} c
            [έγγ]εγραμμένην τιμ[ήν ὧν]
            [χειρί]ζομεν ώνίων κα[ί]
            [όμν]ύομεν τὸν θεῖον ὅρ[κο]ν
            [μηδέ]ν διεψεύςθαι. ἔςτι [δ]έ.
            [λίν]ων παντοίων λευκ[ω]γ
            [τοῦ] μὲν τρυφεροῦ λί(τρας) [α
                                                         τά]λ(αντον) α (δηνάρια) ρ[
     20
            [τοῦ δ]ὲ κοινοῦ
                                  \lambda i(\tau \rho a \epsilon) [a]
                                                          ]...[
            [ύποδε]εςτέρων χω[ρικών λί(τρας) α
            [ύπατεία]ς της προκ(ειμένης),
            [Αὐρήλιοι] Μάξιμος κ[αὶ Παθερμούθιος]
(m. 2)
            [ἐπιδεδώκ]αμεν προ[cφωνοῦντες ὡς πρόκ(ειται).]
                  c. 8 ] ἀξιωθεὶς ἔγρ(a\psi a) ὑ[(\pi \epsilon \rho) αὐτῶν γρ(άμματα) μὴ εἰδότων.]
                         20 λ?, ταλ', *
   8 \lambda \alpha \mu f, \lambda \alpha \mu f \circ \xi'
                                               23 \pi \rho o^{\kappa}
                                                               26 εγρ
```

'In the consulship of our masters Licinius Augustus for the 5th time and Crispus the most noble Caesar for the 1st time.

'To Valerius Dioscurides alias Julianus, curator of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the bleachers of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through us Aurelii Maximus son of Sarmates and Pathermuthius son of Sarapion, monthly presidents. In accordance with orders, at our own risk we declare the price entered below for the goods which we handle, and we swear the divine oath that we have been deceitful in nothing. As follows:

Inferior, local [1 lb.

'The aforesaid consulship, [month and day.]'

- (m. 2) 'We, Aurelii Maximus and Pathermuthius, presented this, making our declaration as aforesaid. I, Aurelius . . . , on request wrote on their behalf as they are illiterate.'
- ι δεςποτ $\hat{\omega}[\nu]$ . The nu is obscured by a piece of extraneous papyrus glued over the upper right corner (perhaps in preparation of the roll for the text on the back?). It would be risky to remove it and since readings are not in doubt the attempt does not seem worthwhile.
- 9 12 The same persons were  $\mu\eta\nu$ iáp $\chi$ ai in Phamenoth the next year, as 3752 shows; 3743 9-12 and 24 can be restored in combination with each other and with 3752.
- The reading here is assured by the parallel 3752, even though the traces are only dubiously allocated to particular letters.
- 12 ἀκολούθ]ως. A trace remains (on mainly vertical fibres) from near the beginning of this word, it is uncertain from which letter.
- 19  $\lambda \epsilon \nu \kappa [\hat{\omega}] \nu$ . Like 3753, this is another example where to suppose the guild declares the price paid for the raw material of its trade (cf. LI 3624-6 introd.) is not the ready explanation; it would seem much more obvious that here we have a service industry or better still a retail trade (since the goods are described as already  $\lambda \epsilon \nu \kappa [\hat{\omega}] \nu$ ) listing its prices. 3626 is another text that will not easily fit the raw-material pattern of declarations, along with 3776. The Michigan text published by H. C. Youtie,  $\angle PE$  22 (1976) 63 ff. (cited in the introd. above), is evidence for dealings with  $\lambda \epsilon \nu \kappa \alpha \nu \tau \alpha i$  by the  $\lambda i \tau \rho \alpha$  (ll. 16–18), perhaps not outright purchase (as Youtie's translation suggests) since ll. 27–8 appear to keep a fee for the work separate from any price for the actual material. The drop from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lb. (ll. 17–18) to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lb. (l. 26) is disconcerting. If not simply an error, had Aria taken  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lb. to the bleacher for bleaching, sold 1 lb. for a profit and paid him, and now she still owes him for bleaching the remaining  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lb.? Measurement by weight suggests that yarn and not cloth is meant.
- 20 τρυφεροῦ, 22 [ὑποδε] εςτέρων. For the combination cf. Aeg. 54 (1974) 94, a text also concerned with textiles. The commentary on l. 5 there is invalidated by a lexicographical misunderstanding, as checking XXXI 2599 31 n. quickly makes clear. καταδεέςτερος is the term which occurs passim in the textile sections of Diocletian's Price Edict. The parallel 3752 uses ὑποδεέςτερος.

22 See 20n.

24 Cf. 9-12 n. above.

26 The ὑπογραφεύς may be the ubiquitous Aurelius Horion, cf. e.g. the letter-forms in **3748** 20 and see Appendix IV below. His name may have come partly in 25; Αὐρήλιος is likely to have been abbreviated  $\alpha \nu \rho$ . Various of the words lost at the end of 26 are likely to have been abbreviated;  $\dot{\upsilon}(\pi \epsilon \rho)$  and  $\gamma \rho(\dot{\alpha}\mu\mu\alpha\pi\alpha)$  almost certainly so,  $\alpha \dot{\upsilon}\tau(\dot{\omega}\nu)$  and  $\epsilon \dot{\iota}\delta(\dot{\delta}\tau\omega\nu)$  (or  $\epsilon \dot{\iota}\delta\dot{\delta}\tau(\omega\nu)$ ) possibly so. For  $\dot{\alpha}\xi\iota\omega\theta\epsilon\dot{\iota}c$  see H. C. Youtie, ZPE 17 (1975) 211 and n. 26.

# 3744. DECLARATION OF PRICES

A 21/6(viii) (25.4.67)

 $7.2 \times 12 \text{ cm}$ 

318

This fragment from the beginning of a declaration of prices to the logistes by the guild of  $\kappa \epsilon \mu \iota \sigma \hat{\omega} \lambda a \iota$  (cf. 3737 7–8 with n. and also 3755 30) is additional evidence for the early tenure of the office of logistes by Valerius Dioscurides alias Julianus: cf. 3743 and Appendix I below. No month survives in 3744 but it is dated to the same year as 3743 (and was found in close proximity to it) and also 3745, and all three are in the same hand and may have come from the same roll.

The papyrus is broken off at the left and below. There is no trace of a following item.

The fragmentary text on the other side (also along the fibres) may be a draft, with several corrections and interlineations. Appearance suggests it may be from a report of proceedings, written *transversa charta* and probably before the logistes, but there is no internal evidence for that.

[ύπατείας τω] γ ξεςποτων
[ήμων Λι] κινίου Cεβαςτοῦ τὸ ε΄ [καὶ Κρίςπ] ου τοῦ ἐπιφανεςτάτου
[Καίςαρος τ] ὁ α΄.

[Οὐαλερίω Δι] ος κουρίδη τῷ καὶ
['Ιουλιανῷ λ] ογιςτῆ 'Οξυρυγχίτου
[παρὰ τοῦ κο] ινοῦ τῶν κεμιο[πωλων τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς)] καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) 'Ο[ξ(υρυγχιτῶν)]
[πόλεως δι' ἐμ] οῦ Αὐρηλίου

[ ε. 14 ]...[,]..[ε. 2]
[ἀκολούθως τοῖς κ] ελευςθε[ ι̂ςιν]

8 λαμς

'In the consulship of our masters Licinius Augustus for the 5th time and Crispus the most noble Caesar for the 1st time.

'To Valerius Dioscurides alias Julianus, *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the seed-vegetable merchants of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through me Aurelius . . . In accordance with orders, . . . '

9 Papyrus broken after  $\emph{Adophiov}$ ; space (for about three letters) probably left blank.

10 The scanty traces are insufficient to show whether a second hand entered the names here.

#### **3745.** DECLARATION OF PRICES

11 1B.145/G (c) 13×22 cm 318

Details of the item(s) declared, and the subscription, are lost from this price-declaration by the vetch-sellers which otherwise poses no problems, despite its condition, except for the name of the  $\mu\eta\nu\iota\acute{a}\rho\chi\eta c$  in 10. Lines 5-6 provide further supporting evidence for the brief first tenure of the office of logistes by Valerius Dioscurides alias Julianus in 318: cf. 3743-4 and Appendix I below. We do not know in which month 3745 was written. It is in the same hand as the declarations 3743-4 and all three may have come from the same roll.

Written along the fibres. The tattered condition of areas of the text renders the measurements approximate only. There are scanty traces of the beginnings of lines of a following column, which are not transcribed. On the back, *transversa charta* along the fibres, are the remains probably of proceedings, in all likelihood before the logistes. There are parts of nine damaged and heavily corrected lines.

ύπατείας των δεςποτών [ήμω]ν Λικινίου ζεβαςτοῦ τὸ ε[ καὶ Κρίςπου τοῦ ἐπιφανεςτάτου [Καίταρος τὸ] α΄. [Οὐαλερίω Δ]ιοςκουρίδη τῷ καὶ [ Ιουλιαν] ώ λογιςτή 'Οξυρυγχίτου [παρὰ τοῦ] κοινοῦ τῶν ὀρβιο- $[\pi \omega \lambda \hat{\omega}]$ ν της  $\lambda \alpha \mu (\pi \rho \hat{\alpha} \epsilon)$  καὶ  $\lambda \alpha \mu (\pi \rho \sigma \tau \acute{\alpha} \tau \eta \epsilon)$  ' $O\xi (v \rho v \gamma \chi \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu)$ [πόλεω]ς δι' έμου Αὐρηλίου (m, 2) $\begin{bmatrix} c. 5-6 \end{bmatrix} \delta ov Aμμωνος.$ (m. I) [ἀκολο]ύθως τοῖς κελευςθεῖ-[ ειν ίδί] ω τιμήματι προς-[φωνῶ] τὴν έξης ἐνγε-[γραμμέ] γην τιμήν ών [χειρίζ] ω ωνίων καὶ [όμνύω] τὸν θεῖον ὅρκον [μηδέν δι]εψεῦςθαι. [ ]....[

8  $\lambda \alpha \mu f$ ,  $\lambda \alpha \mu f \circ \xi'$  13 l.  $\epsilon \gamma \gamma \epsilon$ -

'In the consulship of our masters Licinius Augustus for the 5th time and Crispus the most noble Caesar for the 1st time.

'To Valerius Dioscurides alias Julianus, curator of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the vetch-sellers of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through me Aurelius' (m. 2) '... son of Ammon.' (m. 1) 'In accordance with orders, at my own risk I declare the price entered below for the goods which I handle, and I swear the divine oath that I have been deceitful in nothing. ...'

7 8 This is the only surviving declaration of the  $\partial \rho \beta \iota o \pi \hat{\omega} \lambda a \iota$ , regrettably broken away before giving us the object of their declaration. Supposedly they will have declared the price of  $\partial \rho \rho \delta o \epsilon$  (3737 16–19 n.).  $\partial \rho \rho \delta o \epsilon$  is one of four (at least, and probably five) leguminous vegetables declared by the  $\kappa \epsilon \mu \iota o \pi \hat{\omega} \lambda a \iota$  (3737); how the two guilds stood in relation to one another, we can only guess.

#### 3746. Undertakings on Oath

70/24 bis (a) 24 × 24.5 cm 23 5(?) March 319

This text is of prosopographical interest: it provides the earliest evidence for the second period of tenure of the office of logistes by Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, and describes him as logistes (47) in contrast with the rest of the evidence for this second tenure which describes him as  $\delta\iota o\iota\kappa \hat{\omega}\nu \tau \hat{\eta}\nu \lambda o\gamma\iota c\tau\epsilon \ell a\nu$ . I have not yet seen the solution to this disagreement. See Appendix I below. The papyrus falls within the known limits of

tenure of the praeses Herculiae Valerius Ziper (cf. J. Lallemand, L'Administration civile 255, and now especially CPR V 7. 2 n.).

It is a τόμος ευγκολλήειμος preserving two sworn declarations (preceded by a more fragmentary third) addressed to the logistes of the Oxyrhynchite by persons who bind themselves to guard named individuals and present them at the headquarters of the *praeses*. The dates are not quite certain but the declarations may have been submitted on three successive days. All three have been drafted by the same hand, with different subscription hands. For the type of document cf. XLIII 3127 and L 3576. Note also P. Harr. I 65 and the somewhat different SB VI 9192.

A kollesis belonging to the original manufacture (and of the expected three-layer type, cf. LI 3624-6 introd.) runs down col. iii, two-thirds the way along its lines. The joins made in creating the  $\tau \delta \mu o c$  obscure the line-beginnings in cols. ii iii; this has only occasionally caused reading problems, and elsewhere the transcript treats the obscured letters as if they were fully visible.

On the back, across the fibres, are two columns of a list of names, followed by scantier remains of a third. The purpose of the list is uncertain. All entries are masculine; the usual format is name plus father's name only. There is no alphabetical arrangement, no date, and no heading. There is a sub-heading (11) beginning  $\tau \acute{a} \xi \epsilon \omega c$ . In 38–9 occur  $A\tau\tau \acute{\iota}\omega\nu$   $E\mathring{\iota}\pi o\tau \acute{\iota}o\nu$   $\kappa a\grave{\iota}$   $A\phi\theta[\acute{o}]\nu \iota oc$   $\grave{a}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{o}c$ . The unusual combination of the first two names recalls the homonym ( $E\mathring{\iota}\pi\acute{o}\theta\iota oc$ , correctly, for  $E\mathring{\iota}\pi\acute{o}\tau\iota oc$ ) in XXII 2347 15 and elsewhere (see P. Oxy. XLV p. xvi) and may therefore provide an approximate date for the back of c. 360. On  $A\tau\tau \acute{\iota}\omega\nu$   $E\mathring{\iota}\pi o\theta\acute{\iota}o\nu$  see also S. Daris, Aeg. 63 (1983) 150–6, esp. 153. An Attion recurs in 3776 below of 24 July 343. On this side can be seen the remains of a kollesis where a fourth item was attached to the right of 3746 col. iii. The  $\tau\acute{o}\mu oc$ -kolleseis are readily visible on this side and coarsely made compared with the one due to the original manufacture of its roll.

		Col. i
	[	][ c. 12-14 ]
	[ c. 11-13	][ 6.9-11
	[ c. 11-13	][ \(\chi, 8-10\)\]
	[ c. 14-16	][].[ c. 5 7 ]
5	[ c. 14-16	][ c. 0-2 ]
	[ c. 12-14	] ἐπὶ τῷ με τὴν ταύτης
	[τήρηςιν καὶ παραφ]υλ	ακὴν ποιήςας-
	[θαι νύκτωρ τε καὶ] με	θ' ἡμέρας ἄχρις
	[αν αὐτὴν παραςτής]ω	τῆ τάξι τοῦ

- [διαςημ(οτάτου) ἡγ(εμόνος) Οὐαλερίου Ζίπε]ρος καὶ τῆς παρα-[ςτάςεως γρ(άμματα) ἐποίςειν εἰς τὸ] ἐν μηδενὶ [μεμφθῆναι ἢ ἔνοχος] εἴην τῷ θίῳ [ὅρκῳ, ὑπατείας τῆς α(ὐτῆς), Φαμε]νὼθ κζ΄.
- (m. 2) [Αὐρήλιος name ]ς

  15 [father's name παρείληφα τὸ] πρό[cωπον καὶ παραςτήςω] ὡς
  [πρόκειται.]

## Col. ii

- (m. 1) ψπα[τείας τῶν δες]ποτ[ῶ]ν ἡμῶν Κωνςταν[τίνου]  $C\epsilon\beta$ ας[τοῦ τὸ  $\epsilon$ ] ΄ καὶ Λικινίου τοῦ ἐπιφανε[ςτάτου]
  - 20 Καίcαρ[ος τὸ αʃ]΄.
    [Οὐαλ]ερίῳ [Ἀμμ]ῳν, ιαν τῷ καὶ Γεροντίῳ
    λογ(ιςτη) δ, ιὰ Ἑρμίνου διαδεχ(ομένου) ςτρ(ατηγίαν) 'Οξ(υρυγχίτου)
    παρὰ Αὐρη[λ]ίων 'Ωρίωνος Άλεξάνδρον
    ἀπὸ 'Οξ(υρύγχων) πόλ[εως κ] αὶ Ἀμμωνᾶ Παὸλ ἀπὸ κώ-
  - 25 μης Δωςειθέου η πάγου. ΄ ο μολοχοῦμεν (ομολ) ὀμνύντες τὸν ςεβάςμιον [θ] ιον ὅρκον τῶν δεςποτῶν ἡμῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων καὶ Καιςάρων παριληφέναι Κ.... υμον ἐγγυητὴν Χαρι-
  - 30 ..νης δούλης Πλουτίωνος ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμᾶς
    τὴν τούτου τήρης ειν καὶ παραφυλακὴν ποιής ας θαι νύκτωρ δε καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ἄχρις ἂν αὐτὸν παρας τής ωμε (ν)
    τῆ τάξι τοῦ διας ημ(οτάτου) ἡγ(εμόνος) Οὐαλερίου
  - 35 Ζίπερος κ[α]ὶ τῆς παραςτάςεως γρ(άμματα) ἐποίςειν εἰς τὸ ἐν μηδενὶ μεμφθῆναι ἢ ἔνοχοι εἴημεν τῷ θείῳ ὅρκω. ὑπατίας τῆς α(ὐτῆς), Φαμενὼθ κη'.

12 l.  $\theta \epsilon i \omega$  14 ç extended as filler-stroke 22  $\lambda o y^L$ ? διαδεχ΄ς τρ $f o \xi'$  24  $o \xi'$  25 l.  $\Delta \omega \epsilon i \theta \epsilon o v$  26  $\epsilon \epsilon \beta \alpha \epsilon \mu \epsilon \bar{o}$ ? 27 l.  $\theta \epsilon \hat{i} o v$  28-9 l.  $\pi \alpha \rho \epsilon i \lambda \eta \phi \epsilon v \alpha i$  29  $\epsilon \gamma' \gamma v \eta \tau \eta v$  31 τούτου corr. from αὐτοῦ; l. τήρητιν 32  $\delta \epsilon = \tau \epsilon$  33  $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha \epsilon \tau \eta \epsilon \omega \mu \epsilon^{-2}$ ? 34 διατημ $\xi \eta \gamma^L$  35  $\gamma \rho f$  36  $\xi \pi \rho \hat{i} \epsilon \epsilon \psi$  partly rewritten 38 l.  $\psi \pi \alpha \tau \epsilon \hat{i} \alpha \epsilon$ ; af

(m. 3) Αὐρήλιοι 'Ωρίων καὶ Ἀμμωνᾶς

40 παρειλήφαμεν το πρόσωπο(ν)
καὶ παραστήςομεν ὡς πρόκειται.
Αὐρ(ήλιος) 'Ωρίων ἔγρα ψα ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄλλου
γράμματα μὴ εἰδότος.

#### Col. iii

(m. 1) [ύπατείας τ]ῶν δεςποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνςταντίνου

45 [ [ ( Εβαςτοῦ] τὸ ες΄΄΄ καὶ Λικινίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεςτάτου [ Καίςαρος τὸ] ας΄΄΄. [ [ Οὐαλε]ρίω Άμμωνιανῶ τῷ καὶ Γεροντίω λογ(ιςτῆ) διὰ 'Ερμίνου διαδεχ(ομένου) ςτρ(ατηγίαν) 'Οξ(υρυγχίτου) παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Φιλουμένου Θωνίου

50 ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) 'Οξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεω[ς] προπ[ο]μποῦ. ὀμνύω τὸν ςεβάςμιον θῖον ὅρκον τῶν δεςποτῶν ἡμῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων καὶ Καιςάρων παριληφέναι Μαξίμαν γυναῖκα 'Ιέρα-

55 κος υίοῦ Καςιανοῦ γαμβροῦ Άγαθίνου ἐπὶ τῷ με τὴν τᾳύτης τήρης ειν καὶ παραφυλακὴν ποιής ας θαι νύκτωρ δε καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ἄχρις ἂν αὐτὴν παραςτήςω τῆ τάξι τοῦ διαςημ(οτάτου) ἡγ(εμόνος) Οὐαλε[ρίου]

60 Ζίπερος καὶ τῆς παραςτάςεως γρ(άμματα) ἐποίςεμε εἰς τὸ ἐν μηδενὶ μεμφθῆναι ἢ ἔνοχος εἴην τῷ θίῳ ὅρκῳ. ὑπατίας τῆς α(ὐτῆς), Φαμενῷθ κθ΄.

(m. 4) Αὐρήλιος Φιλούμεν[ος]

65 Θωνίου παρείληφα [τὸ] πρόςωπον καὶ πα[ρα-] ςτήςω ὡς πρόκειτ[αι.]

40 προςωπο 42 αυρ 47 λογι 48 διαδεχ΄ςτρfοξ΄ 50 λαμf, λαμf 52 f1. θεf0 γρf0 61 θ of μεμφθηναι corr.? 62 f1. θεf0 διαδεχίστρf0 γρf1 θ of μεμφθηναι corr.? 62 f1. θεf0 διαδεχίστρf0 γρf1 θ of μεμφθηναι corr.?

4

Col. i 6ff.

'... to the end that I watch and guard her by night and day until I deliver her to the headquarters of the praeses Valerius Ziper, vir perfectissimus, and that I will produce receipts for her delivery, so as not to be blamed in any respect, or may I be liable to the penalties of the divine oath. In the same consulship, Phamenoth 27.'
(m. 2) 'I, Aurelius . . .s son of . . . , have taken charge of the person and I shall deliver her as aforesaid.'

Col. ii

(m. 1) 'In the consulship of our masters Constantinus Augustus for the 5th time and Licinius the most noble Caesar for the 1st time.

'To Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, curator, through Herminus, administering the office of the strategus, of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelii Horion son of Alexander from the city of Oxyrhynchus and Ammonas son of Paol from the village of Dositheou in the 8th pagus. We acknowledge, swearing the august divine oath by our masters Imperatores and Caesares, that we have taken charge of C. . ymus, guarantor for Charixena(?), slave of Plution, to the end that we watch and guard him by night and day until we deliver him to the headquarters of the praeses Valerius Ziper, vir perfectissimus, and that we will produce receipts for his delivery, so as not to be blamed in any respect, or may we be liable to the penalties of the divine oath. In the same consulship, Phamenoth 28.'

(m. 3) 'We, Aurelii Horion and Ammonas, have taken charge of the person and we shall deliver him as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Horion, wrote on behalf of the other as he is illiterate.'

Col. iii

(m. 1) 'In the consulship of our masters Constantinus Augustus for the 5th time and Licinius the most noble Caesar for the 1st time.

'To Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, curator, through Herminus, administering the office of the strategus, of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelius Philumenus son of Thonius from the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, escort. I swear the august divine oath by our masters Imperatores and Caesares that I have taken charge of Maxima, wife of Hierax son of Casianus son-in-law of Agathinus, to the end that I watch and guard her by night and day until I deliver her to the headquarters of the praeses Valerius Ziper, vir perfectissimus, and that I will produce receipts for her delivery, so as not to be blamed in any respect, or may I be liable to the penalties of the divine oath. In the same consulship, Phamenoth 29(?).'

(m. 4) 'I, Aurelius Philumenus son of Thonius, have taken charge of the person and I shall deliver her as aforesaid.'

t 5 I can make nothing of these damaged lines, where the text will diverge in part from the wording preserved in cols. ii-iii. Estimates of numbers of letters can only be approximate.

10 Cf. 34-5 and 59-60 and the introd. above.

22 Cf. 48 and n.

29–30 Perhaps  $Xapi\xi\xi\nu\eta\epsilon$ . The beginning of 30 is hidden under the well-glued edge of the preceding item of the  $\tau\delta\mu$ oc.

37  $\theta$ εί $\omega$  ὅρκ $\omega$  was surely the intention, though it is not easy to see exactly how the reading conforms to the writing ductus. The ink is fairly well preserved.

Text transcribed on the basis of col. iii. In fact, virtually nothing is visible of the dotted letters; I cannot allocate occasional ink traces to particular letters.

47 Slight ink traces actually remain from the beginning of  $O\dot{v}a\lambda\epsilon\rho\dot{\iota}\omega$ ; I cannot certainly assign them to letters.

48 Cf. 22. Herminus(?) is an addendum to the list of J. E. G. Whitehorne, ZPE 29 (1978) 184, where there is a substantial gap in the sequence at this point (note that Gerontius, no. 119, is to be deleted from the list, cf. XVII 2114 20n. where he is reidentified as a  $i\pi\eta\rho\epsilon\tau\eta c$   $c\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\gamma o\hat{v}$ ). As regards the next holder in Whitehorne's list, Aur. Hermias, no. 120, there is no evidence for his having been gymnasiarch (confirmed to me by John Whitehorne by letter dated 2 March 1984).

51  $\pi \rho o \pi [o] \mu \pi o \hat{v}$ . Cf. L **3576** 6 and n.

# 3747-3753. Declarations of Prices

11 1B.145/G (a)  $55.5 \times 24$  cm 26 March 319

This sequence of seven price-declarations, all dated 30 Phamenoth = 26 March 319, is not a  $\tau \delta \mu o c c v \gamma \kappa o \lambda \lambda \dot{\eta} c \iota \mu o c$ , and may all have been drafted by the same hand (with later insertions, of course: cf. ZPE 39 (1980) 115) although attributions to hands are not absolutely certain. For the normal format cf. 3731 introd. The declarations are not, however, drawn up with the same degree of uniformity as is present for example in I 85 (re-ed. R. A. Coles, ZPE 39 (1980) 115-23; note especially p. 116 on the differences between the two later columns and the rest—in the present sequence there are many differences of detail).

The sequence provides further and repeated evidence for Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius' second tenure of the office of logistes. Here Ammonianus is consistently described as  $\delta\iota o\iota \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu$  the office of logistes, as in PSI V 454; contrast 3746 47  $\lambda o\gamma (\iota c\tau \hat{\eta})$ , and see Appendix I below. For the distinction between  $\delta\iota o\iota \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu$  and  $\delta\iota \acute{a}\delta o\chi oc$  see 3755 28 n.

The declarations come from the following guilds: 3747 μελιεςουργοί?, beekeepers; 3748 εταγματοπῶλαι, aromatic-oil(?) merchants; 3749 γαροπῶλαι, fish-sauce sellers; 3750 ἀλοπῶλαι, salt-merchants; 3751 ἐριοπῶλαι, wool-merchants; 3752 λευκανταί, bleachers; and 3753 ετιπποχ[ειρι]εταί, tow-handlers.

The declarations are written along the fibres. Kollesis-positions occur near the right edge of 3748, the left edge of 3751, and the middle of 3753, giving sheets approximately 19.5 cm wide by 24 cm, and 19 cm by 24 cm (visible-area measurements). All the kolleseis are of the three-layer type.

On the back, along the fibres, are proceedings before the logistes, published here as 3759. A docket relating to that text has been written on the price-declaration side, vertically up between 3747 and 3748: see 3759 introd.

# 3747. DECLARATION OF PRICES

See the general introduction to 3747-53 above. This one, at the left-hand edge of the surviving portion of the roll, is in much damaged condition; besides the loss of the very top and the beginnings of lines, the beginning is in a very poor state, and the surface of the lower part is partly stripped so that assessment of line-numbers is not absolutely certain. The guild is perhaps that of the  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota ccov\rho\gamma ol$ , who recur in the last column of I 85 (re-ed. ZPE 39 (1980) 120); unfortunately we do not learn from either papyrus what the beekeepers were declaring.

Distribution of hands, as far as can be ascertained, follows usual patterns.

1-4	Scanty traces, very badly damaged		
5	5 [παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τ]ῷν μελ[ιcc]ουρ-		
	[γῶν δι' ἐμοῦ Αὐρ]ηλίου		
(m. 2)	[ c. 11 ], τος.		
(m. 1)	. 1) $[ \dot{a}$ κολού $\theta$ ως το $\hat{\iota} ]$ ς κελευς $\theta [ \epsilon ] \hat{\iota}$ ςι $( \nu )$		
	$[\imath\delta\iota\dot{\omega}$ τιμήματ]ι προ $[\epsilon]\phi[\omega]$ ν $\hat{\omega}$		
10	[τὴν έξῆς ἐγγεγ]ραμμένην		
	[τιμὴν ὧν χειρίζω] ὧνίων κ[a]ὶ [ð]μνή-		
	$[\omega   au$ ον $\theta \epsilon$ ιον ὅρκον $\mu] \eta \delta \dot{\epsilon}$ ν δρί $[\epsilon \psi] \dot{\epsilon} \dot{v}$ -		
	[ $\epsilon\theta$ αι. (vac.) ] $\check{\epsilon}\epsilon\tau\iota$ $\delta\epsilon$ ·		
	[ ].		
15	[ (δηνάρια) (m. 2) Ἀρν		
(m. 1)	]		
(m, 3)	$[A \vec{v} \rho \dot{\eta} \lambda ι o c c. 4]$ . $\dot{\varsigma}$		
	[ἐπιδέδωκα προ]ҫφῳ-		
	[νῶν ὡς πρόκειτ]αμ.		

6 Final v extended to right as filler-stroke 7 Horizontal of c extended? 8  $\kappa \epsilon \lambda \epsilon v c \theta \epsilon \iota c \iota$ 

1 Probably one more line completely lost at the top.

5-6 For beekeepers see R. D. Sullivan, BASP 10 (1973) 5-13.

6 For the omission of  $\tau \hat{\eta} \epsilon \lambda a \mu \pi \rho \hat{a} \epsilon$  'Οξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως cf. e.g. 3749 (where it has been added in) and 3750. For its inclusion, and this form of the phrase, see 3748 7 n.

14 15 The question of what the beekeepers declared is tantalizing, and the loss here is particularly regrettable. We can at least deduce that they declared the prices of two items.

16 Presumably the repeat consular formula, month, and day (cf. 3748 16-17) came here, though I have failed to discern it in the scanty traces.

17-19 The subscription is autograph, in heavy crude letters.

#### 3748. Declaration of Prices

See the general introduction to 3747-53 above. This declaration, by the  $c\tau a\gamma\mu a\tau o\pi \hat{\omega}\lambda a\iota$ , aromatic-oil(?) sellers, poses no textual problems despite some physical damage. It follows the expected pattern of distribution of hands and later insertions, see ZPE 39 (1980) 115 and 3731 introd.

[ὑπατείας τῶ]ν δεςποτῶν ἡμῶν Κω[ν]ςταντίνου Cεβαςτοῦ τὸ ε̞ʃ΄ καὶ Δικινίου Καίςαρος τὸ af. Οὐαλερίω Άμμωνιανῷ τῷ καὶ

- 5 Γεροντίω διοικ(οῦντι) λογ(ιετείαν) 'Οξυρυγχίτου παρὰ τοῦ κοιν[ο]ῦ τῶν εταγματοπωλῶν τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) 'Οξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλεως δι' ἐμοῦ Αὐρηλίου (m. 2) Άμμωνίου Τρύφωνος. (m. 1) ἀκολούθως τοῖς κελευ-
- το κνίδ(ιον) α (δηνάρια) (m. 2)  $\phi$ [[.]][.]
- (m. 1)  $\dot{\upsilon}πατείας τῆς προκ(ειμένης), Φαμενουθ λ'.$
- (m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Άμμώνιος ἐπιδέδωκα προςφωνῶν ὡς πρόκ(ειται). Αὐρ(ήλιος)
  - ' $\Omega$ ρίων ἔχρ $(a\psi a)$   $\mathring{v}(\pi \grave{\epsilon} \rho)$  αὐτοῦ γρ $(\acute{a}\mu\mu a\tau a)$   $\mu \grave{\eta}$  ϵἰδότος.

 $5 \frac{\delta \iota o \iota^{\kappa} \lambda o \gamma f^{\iota}}{15 \kappa \nu \iota^{\delta}}; \lambda \frac{\gamma}{\epsilon} \lambda a \mu f o \xi'; \lambda \frac{\delta}{\epsilon} \lambda a \mu (\pi \rho \hat{a} c) \text{ corr. from o}$  11 l.  $\dot{\epsilon} \gamma \gamma \epsilon \gamma \rho a \mu \mu \dot{\epsilon} -$  12 l.  $\chi \epsilon \iota \rho i \zeta \omega$  15  $\kappa \nu \iota^{\delta}$ ; l.  $\tau o \hat{v} \kappa \nu \iota \delta (i o v); \times$  16  $\pi \rho o^{\kappa}$  19  $\pi \rho o^{\kappa} a v \rho'$  20  $\epsilon \gamma \rho f v$ ),  $\gamma \rho f$ 

'In the consulship of our masters Constantinus Augustus for the 5th time and Licinius Caesar for the 1st time.

'To Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, administering the office of curator of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the aromatic-oil(?) sellers of the illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through me Aurelius' (m. 2) 'Ammonius son of Tryphon.' (m. 1) 'In accordance with orders, at my own risk I declare the price entered below for the goods which I handle, and I swear the divine oath that I have been deceitful in nothing. As follows:

'Aromatic oil(?) I Cnidian jar den.' (m. 2) '500.'

(m. 1) 'The aforesaid consulship, Phamenoth 30.'

(m. 2) 'I, Aurelius Ammonius, presented this, making my declaration as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Horion, wrote on his behalf as he is illiterate.'

6-7  $c\tau a \gamma \mu a \tau o \pi \omega \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu$ . 'Sellers of aromatic oils', LSJ, but  $c\tau \acute{a} \gamma \mu a$  is differently explained elsewhere, 'rosewater' (cf. Stephanus; Preisigke WB: I 155, where it is also measured in  $\kappa \nu i \delta \iota a$ ) or 'liquid honey' (P. Mich. III 214. 23). Cf.  $c\tau a \kappa \tau \acute{\eta}$ , apparently a perfume, in Diocletian's Price Edict §. 34. 41 and 59 (ed. M. Giacchero), with the commentary of S. Lauffer, Diokletians Preisedikt 287, 288.  $c\tau \acute{a} \gamma \mu a$  is glossed liquamen in CGL, which is itself glossed  $\gamma \acute{a} \rho o \nu$ , 'fish sauce', but  $\gamma \acute{a} \rho o \nu$  itself appears in the adjoining declaration 3749, at 28 den./sextarius. I do not yet see a resolution to this problem.  $c\tau \acute{a} \gamma \mu a$  should at least be a product obtained by 'dripping' in some way, e.g. a resin; but the price—500 den. for a Cnidian jar—is not exceptionally high at this period (nor, equally, notably cheap), cf. the tables in Appendix III below, so that a rare luxury commodity seems inappropriate. The price is just under half of that declared for one item by the beekeepers in the contemporary and adjoining 3747—but, if the guilds are to declare the raw materials of their trade (cf. LI 3624-6 introd.), the beekeepers are not expected to declare the price of honey! Honey and  $c\tau \acute{a} \gamma \mu a$  are found together in I 155 cited above.

7  $\tau \hat{\eta}$ ς  $\lambda \alpha \mu (\pi \rho \hat{\alpha} c)$  ' $O\xi(\nu \rho \nu \gamma \chi \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu)$   $\pi \acute{o} \lambda \epsilon \omega c$ . The formula with single epithet is exceptional at this period, see

D. Hagedorn, ZPE 12 (1973) 285. The formula recurs in 3749 (inserted), 3751, 3752 and 3753, and also in 3760.

14-18 The line-spacing between these lines is wider than elsewhere.

15 cτάγματος. See 6-7 n. The size of the κνίδιον is uncertain, cf. P. Oxy. LI p. 76 and 3628 15 n.

The correction at the end: I suspect that a lower hundreds-figure has been deleted and the  $\phi$  inserted to the left, not that a tens-figure has been deleted. A high trace after the deletion (itself washed out?) is of uncertain meaning.

20 For Horion see Appendix IV below.

### 3749. DECLARATION OF PRICES

See the general introduction above to 3747-53. Despite some damage down the centre, this one, the declaration by the  $\gamma \alpha \rho o \pi \hat{\omega} \lambda a \iota$  or fish-sauce sellers, presents no problems of reading or interpretation. The insertions in the text are later work of the main hand; the subscription is the work of Horion whom we have already encountered in 3748 and who recurs in 3750 and elsewhere: see Appendix IV below.

ύπατείας τῶν δεςποτῶν ἡμῶν Κων[cτ]αντίνου Cεβαςτοῦ τὸ εʃ καὶ Λικιν[ίου] Καίςαρος τὸ αʃ΄. Οὐαλερίω Άμμ[ω]νιανῷ τῷ καὶ

δώρου  $\Delta$ ιοχ $[\epsilon]$ νους.

(m. 1) ἀκολούθως  $[\tau]$ οῖς κελευςθεῖ-

 $(\text{m. I}) \quad \text{$\upsilon \pi a \tau \epsilon \'iac $\tau \hat{\eta} c$ $\pi \rho o \kappa (\epsilon \iota \mu \acute{\epsilon} \nu \eta c)$, $\Phi a \mu \epsilon \nu \grave{\omega} \theta $\lambda'$.}$ 

(m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Άρτεμίδωρος ἐπιδέδωκα προςφωνῶν ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρ(ήλιος) 'Ωρίων ἔγρ(αψα) ὑ(πὲρ) αὐτοῦ γρ(άμματα) μὴ εἰδότος.

5 διοι  $^{\kappa}$ λογ  $^{\iota}$  )  $_{o}$   $\xi'$  7 λαμf 10  $\ddot{\imath}$ διω 11  $\epsilon$ ]νγεγραμμεν $\overline{\eta}$ ; l. έγγ- 15  $\times$  16  $\pi$ ρο  $^{\kappa}$  18 αυρ  $^{\prime}$  19  $\epsilon$ γρfυ), γρf

'In the consulship of our masters Constantinus Augustus for the 5th time and Licinius Caesar for the 1st time.

'To Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, administering the office of curator of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the fish-sauce sellers of the illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through me Aurelius' (m. 1, added) 'Artemidorus, son of Diogenes.' (m. 1) 'In accordance with orders, at my own risk I declare the price entered below for the goods which I handle, and I swear the divine oath that I have been deceitful in nothing. As follows:

'Fish sauce I sextarius den.' (m. 1, added) '28.'

(m. 1) 'The aforesaid consulship, Phamenoth 30.'

(m. 2) 'I, Aurelius Artemidorus, presented this, making my declaration as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Horion, wrote on his behalf as he is illiterate.'

7-8 The agent's name is in the same hand as the body of the text, but to judge from the space at the end of 8 (sigma has an extraordinarily long finial stroke reaching right to the next column = 3750) the name was written into the ready-prepared text.

14-17 The spaces between these lines are wider than in the text elsewhere.

# 3750. DECLARATION OF PRICES

See the general introduction above to 3747-53. This example, the declaration by the  $\dot{a}\lambda o\pi \hat{\omega}\lambda a\iota = \text{salt-merchants}$ , is well preserved and presents no problems. Later insertions by a second hand follow the expected pattern, and are here clearly the work of Horion, who wrote the subscription (cf. 3748-9).

Cf. 3734, another declaration by the  $\delta\lambda o\pi\hat{\omega}\lambda a\iota$ , from 312; the price seven years later in 3750—250 denarii per artaba—is still the same.

ύπατείας τῶν δεςποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνςταντίνου ζεβαςτοῦ τὸ ε∫΄ καὶ Λικινίου Καίςαρος τὸ α∫΄. Οὐαλερίῳ Ἀμμωνιανῷ τῷ καὶ Γεροντίῳ διοικ(οῦντι) λογιςτείαν 'Οξ(υρυγχίτου) παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν άλοπωλῶν δι' ἐμοῦ Αὐρηλίου (m. 2) Παηςίου ζαπρίωνος. (m. 1) ἀκολούθως τοῖς κελευςθεῖςιν ἰδίῳ τιμήματι προςφωνῶ τὴν ἑξῆς ἐνγεγραμμένην τιμὴν ὧν χιρίζω ἀνίων καὶ ὀμνύω τὸν θεῖον ὅρκον μηδὲν διεψεῦςθαι. ἔςτι δέ·

. 5 διοι<sup>κ</sup>, οξ' 7 1. Παή*ςι*ος

9 ϊδιω

10 1. έγγ-

11 Ι. χειρίζω

(m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Παῆςις ἐπιδέδωκα προςφωνῶν ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρ(ήλιος) ʿΩρίων ἔγρ(αψα) ὑ(πὲρ) αὐτοῦ χρ(άμματα) μἢ εἰδί(ότος).

14 ..., 
$$\times$$
 15  $\pi \rho o^{\kappa}$  18  $\alpha v \rho'$ ,  $\epsilon \gamma \rho f v$ ),  $\gamma \rho f$  Ductus and method of abbreviation in  $\mu \eta \epsilon \wp \delta($  ) not clear.

'In the consulship of our masters Constantinus Augustus for the 5th time and Licinius Caesar for the 1st time.

'To Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, administering the office of *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the salt-merchants, through me Aurelius' (m. 2) 'Paesis son of Saprion.' (m. 1) 'In accordance with orders, at my own risk I declare the price entered below for the goods which I handle, and I swear the divine oath that I have been deceitful in nothing. As follows:

(m. 1) 'The aforesaid consulship, Phamenoth 30.'

(m. 2) 'I, Aurelius Paesis, presented this, making my declaration as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Horion, wrote on his behalf as he is illiterate.'

6 Note the omission of  $\tau \hat{\eta} \epsilon \lambda a \mu (\pi \rho \hat{a} \epsilon)$  ' $O\xi(\nu \rho \nu \gamma \chi \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu) \pi \delta \lambda \epsilon \omega \epsilon$ . Cf. 3749, where it was omitted and then inserted later. The phrase is present in the other declarations in this set except 3747.

13-16 Cf. 3749 14-17 n.

#### 3751. DECLARATION OF PRICES

See the general introduction above to 3747-53. This one, the declaration of the wool-merchants,  $\epsilon_{\rho\iota\sigma\pi\hat{\omega}\lambda\alpha\iota}$ , has been much broken but offers no serious textual problems. Later insertions occur in the expected places, but there is some uncertainty over the allocation of hands. Apparently Aurelius Pecyllus wrote his own subscription, but his script is scarcely distinguishable from that of Horion (3750) on one side of him or that of Aurelius Sarmates on the other (3752). I have assigned the other insertions to a different hand less on palaeographical grounds than on the basis that the subscriber would be less likely to have filled in these details himself. Palaeographically I could not say whether the name inserted in 8 was written by Pecyllus (3751 19), Horion (3750 18), Sarmates (3752 23-4), or another person altogether.

ύπατείας τῶν δεςποτῷν ἡμῶν [Κ]ῳνςτᾳντίν[ο]υ Çεβ[α]ςτο[ῦ τὸ ε∫΄] καὶ [Λ]μκμνίου Καίςαρος τὸ α∫΄. Οὐαλερίῳ Άμμωνιανῷ τῷ καὶ Γερον-

- τίω διοικοῦντι λογιετείαν 'Οξυρυγχ(ίτου)
   π[α]ρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν ἐριοπωλῶν
   τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) 'Οξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλεως δι' ἐμοῦ Αὐρη-λίου (m. 2) Πεκύλλου Cτεφάνου. (m. 1) ἀκολού-θως τοῖς κελευςθεῖςιν ἰδίω τιμή-
- 10 ματι προςφωνῶ τὴν έξῆς ἐνγεγραμμένην τιμὴν ῷ[ν] χιρίζω ἀνίων κ[α]ὶ ὀμνύῳ τὸν θεῖ[ο](ν) ὅρκον μηδὲ[ν δ]ιεψεῦςθαι. ἔςτι δέ·
- $i_5$   $\epsilon$ ρίου λευκοῦ εντ(οπίου) <math>λί(τραε) a (δηνάρια) (m. 2) ρν.
- $(m. 1) \qquad \emph{iδιοχρώμων καὶ ἄλλων}$   $\chi \rho \omega \mu \acute{a} \tau \omega ν \qquad \qquad \lambda \acute{\iota} (\tau \rho a \epsilon) \ a \qquad (\delta \eta ν \acute{a} \rho \iota a) \ (m. 2) \ \rho ο \epsilon.$
- $(m. \ i) \ \textit{\'uπατείας τῆς προκ}(\epsilon ιμένης), Φαμενὼθ λ'.$
- (m. 3) Αὐρήλιος Πεκύλλος ἐπι-
  - 20 δέδωκα προςφωνών ώς πρόκ(ειται).
- 5 ' $O\xi\nu\rho\nu\gamma\chi(\ell\tau\sigma\nu)$ . No sign of abbreviation other than a slightly extended diagonal (up to the right) of  $\chi$  7  $\lambda\alpha\mu/o\xi'$  9  $\ddot{\imath}\delta\iota\omega$  10–11 l.  $\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma$  12  $\theta\dot{\epsilon}\iota[\sigma]$  15  $\epsilon\nu^{\tau}\dot{\ell}$ ,  $\times$  Apparently  $\bar{\rho}\nu$  pap. 16  $\ddot{\imath}\delta\iota\sigma$ ? 17  $\dot{\ell}$ ,  $\times$  17–18 Wider space between these lines 18  $\pi\rho\sigma^{\kappa}$  21  $\pi\rho\sigma^{\kappa}$

'In the consulship of our masters Constantinus Augustus for the 5th time and Licinius Caesar for the 1st time.

'To Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, administering the office of *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the wool-merchants of the illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through me Aurelius' (m. 2) 'Pecyllus son of Stephanus.' (m. 1) 'In accordance with orders, at my own risk I declare the price entered below for the goods which I handle, and I swear the divine oath that I have been deceitful in nothing. As follows:

'Wool, white, local 1 lb. den.' (m. 2) '150.'

(m. 1) 'Natural and

other colours 1 lb. den.' (m. 2) '175.'

(m. 1) 'The aforesaid consulship, Phamenoth 30.'

- (m. 3) 'I, Aurelius Pecyllus, presented this, making my declaration as aforesaid.'
- 15 On the Price Edict's section on wool note J. Reynolds, ZPE 42 (1981) 283–4. It is perhaps surprising that white wool is less expensive, at least than natural-coloured wool. The papyrus is cracked across the price in 17, but I do not think  $\rho\kappa\epsilon$  can be read.

# 3752. Declaration of Prices

See the general introduction above to 3747-53. This example, the declaration of the bleachers,  $\lambda \epsilon \nu \kappa \alpha \nu \tau \alpha i$  (cf. 3743), is badly shredded at the top but presents no problems in reading. Allocation of hands is another matter, since insertions in the text appear not to follow expected patterns: see 8 n. The guild's monthly presidents are the same persons as in 3743, of an uncertain month in the previous year. The items declared are the same too; damage precludes comparisons of price except that the price of the best grade has increased, if at all, by no more than 25 denarii.

ύπατ[είας τῶν δεςποτῶν ἡμ]ῷν
Κωνςτ[αντίνου ζεβαςτοῦ τὸ εʃ'] καὶ
Λικιν[ίου Καίςαρος τὸ αʃ'.]
Οὐαλερίω Ἀμμωνιανῷ τῷ καὶ
Γεροντίω δι[οι]κοῦντι λογ(ιςτείαν) 'Οξ(υρυγχίτου)
παρὰ τ[ο]ῦ κοινοῦ τ[ῶν] λευκαντῶν τῆς
λαμ(πρᾶς) 'Οξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλεως δι' ἡμῶν Αὐρηλίων
Μαξίμου ζαρμάτου καὶ Παθερμουθίου ζαραπίωνος μηνιαρ-

- 10 χῶν. ἀκολούθως τοῖς κελευςθεῖςιν ἰδίω τιμήματι προςφωνοῦμεν τὴν έξῆς ἐνγεγραμμένη(ν) τιμὴν ὧν χιρίζομεν ἀνίων καὶ ὀμνύομεν τὸν θεῖον ὅρκον μη-
- 15 δὲν διεψεῦςθαι. ἔςτι δέ· λίνων παντοίων λευκ(ῶν) τοῦ μὲν τρυφεροῦ λί(τρας) α τάλ(αντον) (m. 2) α (δηνάρια) ρκε.
- $(m. \ {\rm i}) \hspace{1cm} \tau o \hat{v} \ \delta \dot{\epsilon} \ \kappa o i v o \hat{v} \ \lambda i (\tau \rho a \epsilon) \ a \ (\delta \eta v \acute{a} \rho i a) \ (m. \ 2) \ \omega o \epsilon.$
- $(\text{m. i}) \qquad \text{$\acute{v}$} \pi \circ \delta \epsilon \epsilon c \tau \acute{\epsilon} \rho \left(\omega \nu\right) \ \chi \omega \rho \iota \kappa (\hat{\omega} \nu) \ \lambda \acute{\iota} \left(\tau \rho \alpha c\right) \ \alpha \ \left(\delta \eta \nu \acute{\alpha} \rho \iota \alpha\right) \ (\text{m. 2}) \ \phi.$
- (m. 1) ύπατείας της προκ(ειμένης), Φαμενώθ λ΄.
- (m. 3) Αὐρήλιοι Μάξιμος καὶ Παθερ-
  - 22 μοῦθις ἐπιδεδώκαμεν προςφωνοῦντες ὡς πρόκ(ειται). Αὐρ(ήλιος) ζαρμάτης ἔγρ(αψα) ὑ(πὲρ) αὐτῶν γρ(άμματα) μὴ εἰδ(ότων).

 $5~\lambda o \gamma^{\rm L} o \xi'$   $7~\lambda a \mu f o \xi'$   $12~\epsilon v \gamma \epsilon \gamma \rho a \mu \mu \overline{\epsilon v \gamma}$ ;  $1.~\dot{\epsilon} \gamma \gamma$ -  $13~l.~\chi \epsilon \iota \rho i \zeta o \mu \epsilon v$   $16~\lambda \epsilon v^{\kappa}$   $17~\dot{\lambda},~\tau a \lambda,~ \times$   $18~\dot{\lambda},~ \times$   $19~\upsilon \pi o \delta \epsilon \epsilon \epsilon \tau \epsilon \rho /\chi \omega \rho \iota^{\kappa} \dot{\lambda},~ \times$   $20~\pi \rho o^{\kappa}$   $23~\pi \rho o^{\kappa}$   $a \upsilon \rho'$   $24~\epsilon \gamma \rho f \upsilon),~\gamma \rho f,~\epsilon \iota^{\delta}$ 

'In the consulship of our masters Constantinus Augustus for the  $5 \mathrm{th}$  time and Licinius Caesar for the  $1 \mathrm{st}$  time.

'To Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, administering the office of *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the bleachers of the illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through us Aurelii Maximus son of Sarmates and Pathermuthius son of Sarapion, monthly presidents. In accordance with orders, at our own risk we declare the price entered below for the goods which we handle, and we swear the divine oath that we have been deceitful in nothing. As follows:

'Linens, all kinds, white:

Fine quality I lb. tal.' (m. 2) '1, den. 125.' (m. 1) 'Standard quality (varieties) I lb. den.' (m. 2) '875.' (m. 1) 'Inferior, local I lb. den.' (m. 2) '500.' (m. 1) 'The aforesaid consulship, Phamenoth 30.'

(m. 3?) 'We, Aurelii Maximus and Pathermuthis, presented this, making our declaration as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Sarmates, wrote on their behalf as they are illiterate.'

I-3 Considerable traces do actually survive of the letters in the lacunae indicated in these lines, but on a tangled mass of separated fibres whose correct positions could only be established with great difficulty. The supplements, however, are not in any doubt, the date obviously being the same as in the declarations that precede and follow on this same papyrus (3751 and preceding, 3753).

8 Unexpectedly (for the normal format cf. 3731 introd.) there is no evidence of change of hand or even later insertion at this point. The latter is surely excluded by the exact fit before  $\frac{\partial \omega}{\partial \kappa} = \frac{\partial \omega}{\partial$ 

μηνιαρχών.

### 3753. DECLARATION OF PRICES

See the general introduction above to 3747-53. This, the last survivor of the sequence, is the declaration of the tow-handlers,  $\epsilon\tau\iota\pi\pi\sigma\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\iota\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ . The right edge is partly lost but there are no textual problems beyond an incomplete personal name (10-11). Allocation of hands is another matter, as in 3752: the pattern and problems are much the same in the two texts, see 3752 8 n. and 3753 8-11 n.

```
ύπατείας [τῶν δεςποτῶν ἡμῶν]
Κωνςταντ[ίνου ζεβαςτοῦ τὸ εξ΄ καὶ]
Λικινίου Καίςᾳρ[ος τὸ αξ΄.]
Οὐαλερίῳ Ἀμμ[ω]ν̞ιᾳν̞ῷ [τῷ] κᾳὶ Γ[ερον-]
τίῳ διοικοῦ[ν]τι λογ(ιςτείαν) 'Οξ[υρυγ]χ[ίτου]
παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν ςτιπποχ[ειρι-]
ςτῶν τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) 'Οξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλεως δι' ἡμῷ[ν]
Αὐρηλίων 'Ωρίωνος Εὐδαίμ[ονος]
καὶ 'Ερμεία 'Ωρίωνος καὶ {καὶ} Αλε̞[ξάν-]
δρου Ἀντωνίου καὶ Χαιρήμονος [ ς. 5 ]
```

5 λογι 7 λαμ∫οξ΄

μονος μηνιαρχών, ἀκολούθω[ς τοῖς] κελευςθείςιν ιδίω τιμήματ [ι προς-] φωνοῦμεν τὴν έξης ἐνγεγραμ[μέ-] νην τιμήν ων χιρίζομεν ων [ίων] καὶ ὀμνύομεν τὸν θεῖον [ὅρκον] μηδεν διεψεῦςθαι. ἔςτι δέ. *cτιππίου κεχιρι*ςμένου τοῦ μεν τρυφερού λί(τρας) α (δηνάρια) (m. 2) υν.

τοῦ δὲ κοινοῦ  $\lambda i(\tau \rho a c) a \quad (\delta \eta \nu a \rho i a) \text{ (m. 2) } \rho \xi \beta.$ 

(m. 1)

ύποδεετέρω(ν) χωρικ(ῶν) λί(τρας) α (δηνάρια) (m. 2) ρ. (m. 1)

ύπατείας της προκ(ειμένης), Φαμενώθ λ['.] (m. 1)

(m.3)Αὐρ (ήλιοι) 'Ωρίων καὶ Χαιρήμων καὶ Έρμίας καὶ Άλέξανδρος δι' έμοῦ τοῦ προκ(ειμένου) 'Ωρίωνος ἐπ[ιδε-] δώκ (αμεν) προςφ[ω]νοῦντες ώς πρόκει [ται.]

13 l. έγγ- 14 l. χειρίζομεν 17 l. κεχειριζμένου 18 τρυφυρου written?  $\lambda$ ,  $\times$  19  $\lambda$ ,  $\times$  20 Traces of washed-out writing before the beginning of this line υποδεεςτερω simply? 14 l. χειρίζομεν 17 l. κεχειριςμένου 18  $\tau \rho \nu \phi \nu \rho o \nu$  written?  $\lambda$ ,  $\times$  $\chi \omega \rho \iota^{\kappa} \lambda$ ,  $\times$  $21 \pi \rho o^{\kappa}$ 22 αυρ 23 προ<sup>κ</sup> 23-4  $\epsilon \pi [\iota \delta \epsilon] \delta \omega \kappa'$ 

'In the consulship of our masters Constantinus Augustus for the 5th time and Licinius Caesar for the 1st time.

'To Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, administering the office of curator of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the tow-handlers of the illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through us Aurelii Horion son of Eudaemon and Hermias son of Horion and Alexander son of Antonius and Chaeremon son of ...mon, monthly presidents. In accordance with orders, at our own risk we declare the price entered below for the goods which we handle, and we swear the divine oath that we have been deceitful in nothing. As follows:

> 'Tow, worked: fine quality rlb. den.' (m. 2) '450.' (m. 1) 'Ordinary quality 1 lb. den.' (m. 2) '162.' (m. 1) 'Inferior, local (varieties) 1 lb. den.' (m. 2) '100.'

(m. 1) 'The aforesaid consulship, Phamenoth 30.'

(m. 3) We, Aurelii Horion and Chaeremon and Hermias and Alexander, through me the aforesaid Horion, presented this, making our declaration as aforesaid.'

8-11 Cf. 3752 8n.; the same considerations apply here. 9 For genitive 'Ερμεία cf. F. T. Gignac, Grammar, ii p. 13.

17 ετιππίου. See P. Mich. XIV 680. 3 n.; also, on the variant forms of the word and its derivatives, P. J. Sijpesteijn, ZPE 24 (1977) 101 and n. 31. With the grades declared in 17-20, cf. 3765 9-11?

23 Aurelius Horion is not the same as the writer of the subscriptions of 3748-50. It is clear that he did not add the denarius-amounts in 18-20.

## 3754. Application for Registration of a Child

71/62 (b)  $8.3 \times 9$  cm 320

The upper left corner from an application for registration of a child addressed to Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, acting *curator civitatis*, for whom see Appendix I. This document falls in his last year of office and might be our latest evidence for him but month and day are lacking.

Aurelia Taÿris seeks to register the birth of her grandson, if we understand the text rightly, on behalf of her son Aurelius(?) Theodorus, who is now a recruit. No indication survives of the current age of the child. The most recently published example of this type of document is P. Upps. Frid. 6 (AD 273), where the comparable texts are listed. There are now several parallels from Oxyrhynchus from the last decades of the third century. This is the first example from the fourth century. It has other unusual features: the declaration comes from the grandmother (cf. III 479), and is made to the (acting) logistes when the parallels would lead us to expect to find the systates as addressee.

Written along the fibres; the back is blank. There is a kollesis down the right edge, of the expected three-layer type (see P. Harr. II 212 introd., and LI 3624-6 introd.); the papyrus has fractured down the right edge of the overlap.

4 l. λογιετείαν; οξυρυγ' χειτου 5 ταΰριος 8 l. ετρατεία 10 ΰίος? ὐιωνου 11 l. Παραδείεου

<sup>&#</sup>x27;In the consulship of our masters Constantinus Augustus for the 6th time and Constantinus the most noble Caesar for the 1st time, [month and day?]

'To Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, administering the office of curator of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelia Taÿris daughter of Horion...from the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites. I wish to have registered for the first time the son X born to my son Aurelius(?) Theodorus who is being passed for military service [and his wife X daughter of?] -mus(?) alias Heraclammon from the same city, in the house which my son the father of my grandson has . . . in the quarter of Pammenes' garden . . .'

3 For the distinction between διοικών and διάδοχος see 3755 28 n.

7 Αὐρηλίω. Theodorus might at this date have been allocated the *gentilicium* Valerius as a soldier, see J. G. Keenan, ζPE 11 (1973) 46, but since at this moment he was in process of enlistment (cf. 8 and n.), he may still have had the name Aurelius. For recruits as Flavii at a later date, cf. Keenan, ibid. 50 and n. 77.

8 ἐν cτρατία ἐξεταζομέν[ $\varphi$ . Theodorus is a recruit in the process of formal enlistment, cf. the CGL: ἐν cτρατεία ἐξηταςμένος = militia probatus; P. Mich. VIII 467. 22, antequam me probatem in militiam. The lacuna perhaps mentioned his wife, daughter of X alias Heraclammon in 9, after the name of the child followed by μητρός.

11 Παραδίζου: for the change from  $\epsilon$  to  $\zeta$  cf. F. T. Gignac, Grammar i p. 123. For the district see A. Calderini, Diz. dei nomi geogr. iv 1, p. 32.

### 3755. Declaration of Prices

11 1B.151 $^2$ /F (b) 8.5 × 14.5 cm 27 September 320

Parts of three items from a roll of declarations of prices addressed to the logistes. Only scanty remains survive of the first and third items; the middle one, from the  $\kappa \epsilon \mu \iota \sigma \hat{\omega} \lambda a \iota$  (see 30 n.), has lost its top and lower part but is otherwise well preserved.

The text provides the earliest attestation of the second period of tenure of the office of logistes by Valerius Dioscurides alias Julianus. For his first period see 3743 above, and see Appendix I below. A reference apparently to his son is tantalizing, see 27-8n.

The back is blank.

col. ii

[ή]μῶν Κ[ωνςταντίνου] col. i Cεβαςτοῦ τὸ 5 [ κ[a]ὶ Κωνςταντίνου τοῦ Ų *ἐπιφανε*ςτάτου Kaicaρος τὸ af', πρὸ ε' $O\kappa\tau\omega$  $\beta\rho(i\omega\nu)$ Καλανδών 'Οκτωβρ(ίων). Διοςκο υρί-Οὐαλερίω Διοςκουρί-'Ιουλια] νώ δη τῷ καὶ Ἰουλιανῷ δια] 'Iovλογιςτή διὰ Ἰουλιδιαδόχ]ου ανοῦ υξο[ῦ] διαδόχ[ο]υ κοινο] ῦ παρά τοῦ κοινοῦ 4 ]Bp' 7 iou 24 οκτωβρ' 26 ϊουλιανω 27 ϊουλι 28 viou?

col. iii

40 . [ παρ[ὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ] τῷ[ν τῆς [ πόλ[εως

31 λαμς, λαμςοξ΄ 36 ϊδια

Col. ii

'[In the consulship] of our [masters] Constantinus Augustus for the 6th time and Constantinus the most

noble Caesar for the 1st time, on the 5th day before the Kalends of October.

'To Valerius Dioscurides alias Julianus, curator, through his son Julianus, deputy, from the guild of the seed-vegetable merchants of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through me Aurelius' (m. 2) 'Seleucus son of Heraclius.' (m. 1) 'In accordance with orders, at my own risk I declare the (price) entered below . . . '

I The highest trace remaining from col. i is level with the third preserved line (=21) of the better-preserved col. ii.

13 ] $\lambda \epsilon \iota$ . Spacing-comparisons with col. ii suggest that this will be part of the name of the  $\mu \eta \nu \iota \acute{a} \rho \chi \eta \epsilon$ , e.g.  $^{\iota}H_{\rho a \kappa}$ ] $\lambda \epsilon \iota^{-14}$ [δου.

23-4 The Roman month-and-day formula is unusual. Perhaps the customary Egyptian version (the equivalent would be Thoth 30) came lower down between the items declared and the subscription.

27-8 Julianus. If the reading  $v_i^* o[\hat{v}]$  is correct, this is the third generation of this family to be known to us; clearly he was following in his father's official footsteps. He is almost certainly to be identified with the Flavius Julianus known as *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite a decade later (for whom see Appendix I below).

28 διαδόχ[ο]υ. Clearly this implies a different (and lower) level of responsibility from διοικῶν τὴν λογιττείαν (3748-53 and elsewhere). Here the post of διάδοχος is held by a young man near the beginning of a long career in public office, who would himself be curator later on (cf. the preceding note), and whose capacity here will perhaps be as an assistant rather than as a deputy. Elsewhere an ἔκδικος serves as διάδοχος (e.g. PSI

VII 767), and the  $\delta\iota\acute{a}\delta o\chi oc$  is always associated with a full  $\lambda o\gamma\iota c\tau\acute{\eta}c$ . Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius is  $\delta\iota o\iota \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \dot{\eta} \nu \lambda o\gamma\iota c\tau \epsilon \acute{\iota} a \nu$ , supposedly without there being a  $\lambda o\gamma\iota c\tau \dot{\eta}c$  as such in office, near the end (he was dead fifteen years later) of a presumably distinguished career of which the only other details of ar known to us is that he had himself already been curator not long before. Cf. Appendix I below.

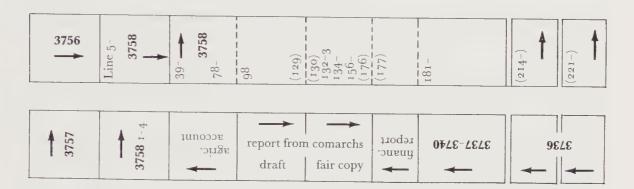
30 κεμιοπωλών. Cf. 3737 7-8 with n., and 3744 7-8.

40 The highest surviving trace of col. iii is level with col. ii 29.

42 The sequence 3737-8 suggests that this might be the guild of ἐλαιουργοί.

## 3756-3758

The complicated physical relationships of 3756–8 are best presented in a diagram of each side of the papyrus on which they stand:



The arrows indicate fibre-direction, the publication numbers the direction in which the particular text is to be read.

It is clear that 3758 39–228, containing records of cases heard by the logistes, were written on a roll specially made up by pasting together out-of-date documents which had been sent in to the logistes, five of which are published above as 3736–40. No attention was paid to the orientation of the documents. It was enough if they were of the right height and if their blank backs could be joined to give a continuous roll. The proceedings are written in a single column, the writing running along the fibres of the backs of the documents. At the head of this column there was attached a separate piece, otherwise unused, containing similar proceedings on the same side (3758 5–38) and a title on the back (3758 1–4). It is not possible to say whether this was added when the roll was first made up or at a later stage, but perhaps the former is more likely, the object being to provide the roll with an outside cover containing only the title. The final stage was to add at the top, above 3758 5, yet another separate piece containing on the front an earlier document (3756) relating to one of the cases within, on the back of which a fair copy (3757) of the record of that case (3758 78–97) was later written out.

The agricultural accounts, the report from comarchs to the logistes (AD 305) in

draft and fair copy, and the fragment of a financial report are not published in the present volume. The datable reused documents date to 305 and 312, up to twenty years earlier. I am not sure how long the 305 text (the report from comarchs) would have remained on file; the declarations of 312 (= 3736-40) would have had a very short life, as is clear from 3766 with 3767, and will have been stored as waste paper for many years.

## **3756.** Acknowledgement of Receipt of Property

7 1B.212/11  $46.3 \times 25$  cm Jan./Feb. 325

This document, more or less complete, concerning the estate being held in trust for a girl minor, has the long transversa charta format roll of proceedings 3758 attached to its right edge, and has the single report of proceedings 3757—which is a fair copy of 3758 78-97—written out on its back. The explanation of this structure may be that Philammon—most likely, as the recipient of 3756—obtained the proceedings-roll 3758 and attached it to his primary document, then had copied out on the back of the latter the only actually relevant section of 3758. All the cases in 3758 are dated in the month following 3756; the interval before they were attached to 3756 may have been much longer. How, and indeed why, Philammon obtained the whole roll remains a mystery.

The principals in 3756 come from Alexandria or from the so-called territory of the Mastitae in the Mareotic nome. There is no reason to suppose that this is not an Alexandrian document; see below, 3757 introd., for the Oxyrhynchite connection.

Aurelius Ammonius in his will had appointed as guardian for his daughter Isis a certain Boccas. Shortly before the date of 3756 this Boccas had also died, leaving children of whom the eldest, Philammon, was still a minor. In these circumstances by the intervention of Isidorus, apparently then praeses Ioviae (see 7 n. and cf. LI 3619), the duty of guardianship passed to Aurelius Aeithales. Aeithales then petitioned the prefect Flavius Magnus (see 9 n.) for the retrieval of the property of Isis which was being detained by Philammon and his brothers (cf. 3757 8), the sons of Boccas. In the present document Aeithales now acknowledges to Philammon and his brothers the receipt of all the property, both money and goods, belonging to the girl Isis, with the exception of specified money and goods retained in connection with the funeral of Boccas and the girl's mother's childbirth expenses. This apparent complete discharge (see the terms of ll. 23–5) had a flaw in it; the following month we find Aeithales at Oxyrhynchus in court before the curator civitatis demanding from Philammon the repayment of a residual 50 talents, see 3757.

The data on *praeses* and prefect mentioned above (see 7n., 9n.) are of wider historical importance, and help to confirm the conclusions of J. R. Rea (LI 3619 introd.) that there was no official in Egypt with overriding authority in the decade preceding the date of this text.

The measurements given above are those of the piece with 3756 before 3758 was attached to it. There are two manufacturer's joins in 3756, in l. 2 through  $\omega$  of " $H\rho\omega\nu$ oc and  $\omega$  of olk $\hat{\omega}\nu$ , so that we can see one complete sheet of the original roll with a writing surface of 22.5 × 25 cm.

(m. 2)  $\vec{a}(\nu\tau i\gamma\rho a\phi o\nu)$ .

- (m. 1) Αὐρήλιος Άεμθάλης Ἡρωνος τοῦ Ἱέρακος ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπροτάτης πόλεως τῶν ἀλεξανδρέων οἰκῶν ἐν τῷ εἶ γράματος πρὸς τόπῳ καλουμέ[ν]ου Κίγματος
  - [έ] γ τοῖς Καςίου κληρονόμου Βότκα ἀπὸ χώρας Ματιτῶν τοῦ Μαρεώτου νομοῦ διὰ τοῦ πρεςβυτέρου ἀδελφοῦ Αὐρηλίου Φιλάμμωνος μετ' εὐδοκής εως
  - Αὐρηλίου Cύρου Ἀπολλων[ί]ου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας Ματιςτῶν πρὸ τούτου καταςταθέντος κουράτορος αὐτῷ Φιλάμμῳν, χαίρειν. ἐπιδὴ ὁ προδηλού-
  - 5 [μ] ενος ὑμῶν πατὴρ Βόκκας κατὰ διαθήκας Αὐρηλίου Άμμωνίου Cύρου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας Μαςτιτῶν ἐπίτρος πο⟩ς ἐτ̞ύχχανεν καταςταθεὶς τῆς τοῦ
    - αὐτοῦ Άμμ[ωνίου] θυγατρὸς Εἴςιτος τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κληρονόμου μόνης ἀποληφθείςης, τὸν δὲ βίον μεταλλάξαντος τοῦ αὐτοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν κατε{ς}-
    - cτάθην ἐγὼ κατὰ πρόςταγμα τοῦ κυρίου μου Ἰςιδώρου τοῦ διακοςμήςαντος τὸν θρόνον τῆς ἡγεμονίας τῆς αὐτῆς Ὠλεξανδρίας ἐπίτροπος τῆ
    - παιδὶ ἀκολούθως τοῖς περὶ τούτου γενομένοις ὑπομνήμαςι καὶ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς αὐτῆς παιδὸς ἀποκαταςτάςεως ἕνεκεν ἐντυχείαν
    - πεποίημαι τῷ κυρίῳ μου τῷ διᾳςημοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου Φλᾳουίῳ Μάγνου καὶ ἐκέλευς[εν] ἀποδοθῆναι, κατὰ ⟨τα⟩ῦτα παραγενόμενος
  - το ἐνταῦθα περι. [ c. 9 ]τηρ[ c. 6 ]...[.δ]εδέχθαι παρ' ὑμῶν τῷν τοῦ B[ό]κκα κληρονόμων τοῦ π....υ παιδὸς ἐπιτρόπου πάντα
    - τὰ διαφέροντα τῆ ἐπιτροπευ[ομένη] ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παιδὶ τῆ αὐτῆ Εἴειτι ἀκολούθως τῆ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς ἄμμωνίου [δι]αθήκη ἐ[φ'] οἶς περιέχει δικαίοις

2 ἵερακος; l. γράμματι 6 l. Ίζειτος τῆς; ϋπ, ϋμων 11 l. Ίζειτι 3 Ι. κληρονόμοις, Βόκκα, Μαςτιτῶν 7 ϊειδωρου; Ι. Άλεξανδρείας 8 Ι. .

ιτῶν 4 l. Μαςτιτῶν, ἐπειδή 8 l. ἐντυχίαν 9 l. Μάγνω

5 ϋμων 10 ϋμων 15

πậςι καὶ παριληφέναι τὰ ἐνκύρο[ντ]α τῷ αὐτῷ β[ο]υλής ει πάντα τη..... μέχρι ἀςςαρίου ἐνὸς χωρὶς μ[ό]νης τῆς ὀθόνης διὰ τὸ καιχωρῆς θαι εἰς

περιςτολήν καὶ κηδίαν τοῦ βόκκα, προςεπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τιμής τῶν διαπραθέντων ὑπαρχόντων ἀκολούθως τῆ αὐτῆ διαθήκη ὄντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀργυρίου

ταλάντων ὀκτα[κ]οςίων μετὰ 〈τὰ〉 κουφιςθέντα [ὑ]φ' ἡμῶν εἰς λόγον κατὰ τὰ διαταγέντα τῷ μὲν πατρὶ ὑμ[ῶ]ν Βόκκα ταλάντων ἑκατὸν καὶ εἰς κηδίαν

αὖτ[ο]ῦ κατὰ τὴν ἰδ[ί]ᾳν βούλητιν [τά]λαντα ἐνενή[κο]ντα αἴτι τὲ καὶ εἰτ λόχον λοχιῶν τῆ[τ] τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου γυναικὸ[τ] μητρὸτ τῆτ παιδὸτ διαταγέντα ὁμοίωτ

τάλαντα τριάκον[τ]α τὰ λοιπὰ τά[λα]ντα πεντακόςια [δ]γδοήκοντα πρὸς οἷς ἀπὸ τιμῆς ὄνου τάλαντα δέκα καὶ ἀπὸ [.]. χυρου Μηνᾶ κ..[.]... ἀποδοθέντος

ἀρχυ[ρί]ου τάλαντα δεκ[α]τές ταρα ὧν [ή] ἀπαρίθμης ίς [μο] ι ἐκ πλήρους τετέλ[ε]ς ται· οὖ ἀργυρ[ί]ου τῆς προκιμένης {τῆς} πος ότητος τὸ πρός εργον τοῦ ἀνέκαθεν

χρ[ό]νου μέχρι της ἐνεττώς[ης] ἡμέρας ὑπελ[ογή]θη ἀντὶ τῶν τροφίων καὶ ἀναλωμάτων τῶν γενομένω[ν] ε[ί]ς τὴν ὀρφανὴν τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν προςέργων

με[τὰ] τὰ λογιςθέντα τοῦ παντὸς ἀν[α]λώματος εν...[..]τα ἐν ὑμεῖν εἶνα[ι] τάλαντα ἐνενήκοντα εξ ὁμοίως ὑπεδε[ξά]μην, ὡς εἶναι ἐπὶ τ[ὸ] αὐτὸ ἀπαριθμηθέντα

20 μοι  $\mathring{q}[\rho]$  γυρίου τάλαντ[α] έπτακότια.  $\pi$ , [, ], δè ὁ αὐτὸς  $\mathring{A}$  μμώνιος ἐν τ $\mathring{\eta}$  έαυτο $\mathring{v}$  διαθήκη ἐντολ[ $\mathring{\eta}$ ]ν παρές χετο τ $\mathring{\omega}$  αὐτ[ $\mathring{\omega}$  π]ατρὶ  $\mathring{\eta}$ μ $\mathring{\omega}$ ν  $\mathring{B}$ όκκα δικάτας  $\mathring{a}$  δικάτας  $\mathring{a}$  κύλαν

[ ε. 19 ]....[.]ης...[..].ως περὶ υ...[.].των περὶ κώμης .καβε εξου.....ως καὶ τοῦ διαν.[.]..αι ἐπεδεξάμην παρ' ὑμῶν καὶ εἰς τότε

[ c. 17 ] v λίτρας τές cαρ[ac π] ερὶ της v[μω] v vποδοχην τοv τε eαργυρίου καὶ ἀςήμου αἴτι τε καὶ χρυςίο e[vκ] eαὶ χαλκωματίον καὶ αἰρεας εςθητος

12 l. παρειληφέναι, ἐγκύροντα, κεχωρῆςθαι 13 l. κηδείαν 14 [ΰ]φ' ἡμῶν: l. ὑφ' ὑμῶν; ϋμ[ω]ν; l. τάλαντα ἑκατόν, κηδείαν 15 l. ἔτι δέ, λοχειῶν 17 απαριθ'μητις; l. προκειμένητ, θ of ἀνέκαθεν corr. from τ 18 υ of χρ[ό]νου corr. from ν; ϋπελογηθη; l. τροφείων 19 ϋμειν: l. ὑμῶν; απαριθ'μηθεντα? 20 l. ὑμῶν; second a of δικάτατθαι corr. from ε (or vice versa) 21 After περί, ΰ; ϋμων 22 l. ἔτι δέ, χαλκωματίων, ἐρεᾶς

- καὶ τῶν ἄλλων [πάν]των μέχρι ἀςςαρίου ένὸς χ[ωρί]ς ὀθόνης μόνης ἐπερωτηθὶς ὡμολ[όγ]ηςα παρειληφέν[α]ι ἐκ πλήρους ἀκολούθως τῆ διαθήκη καὶ ἐν-
- τ $\in$ [ $\hat{v}$ ] $\theta$ εν μηδ $\in$ έν $\alpha$  [λόγον]  $\in$ έχειν πρὸς  $\hat{v}$ [μ $\hat{a}$ ε π $\in$ ] $\rho$  $\hat{i}$  τ $\hat{\eta}$ [ε διοική]ς $\in$ ωε τ $\hat{\eta}$ ε γενομ $\in$ ενης  $\hat{v}$ π $\hat{o}$  το $\hat{v}$  πατ[ρ $\hat{o}$ ]ς  $\hat{v}$ μ $\hat{\omega}$ ν τ $\hat{\omega}$ ν  $\hat{o}$ ρ $\hat{\phi}$ ανικ $\hat{\omega}$ ν  $\hat{i}$ εν  $\hat$
- 25  $\pi \dot{\alpha}[\nu] \tau \omega \nu \dot{\alpha} \pi \dot{\alpha} \xi \dot{\alpha} \pi [\lambda \hat{\omega} c] \kappa \alpha \tau \dot{\alpha} \mu \eta \delta \dot{\epsilon} \nu \alpha \tau \rho \dot{\sigma} \pi [o\nu] \mu \eta \delta \dot{\epsilon} \nu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \dot{\kappa} [\alpha \lambda \dot{\epsilon} \hat{\omega} \nu \mu] \eta \delta \dot{\epsilon}$   $\dot{\epsilon} \nu \kappa \alpha \lambda \dot{\epsilon} c \iota \nu \pi \rho o \phi \dot{\alpha} [c\epsilon] \iota \dot{\eta} \tau \iota \nu \iota o \hat{\upsilon} \nu [\kappa \alpha \dot{\iota}] \dot{\alpha} \pi [o] \chi \dot{\eta} \nu \tau \alpha \dot{\upsilon} \tau \eta \nu \tau \rho \iota \dot{c} \dot{c} \dot{\eta} [\nu] \dot{\upsilon} \mu \dot{\epsilon} \hat{\iota} \nu$   $\dot{\epsilon} \kappa \dot{\xi} \dot{\epsilon} \delta \dot{\omega} \mu \eta \nu \dot{\alpha} \pi \sigma \tau \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \dot{\epsilon} c \tau \iota \kappa \dot{\eta} \nu \dot{\eta} \nu \dot{\epsilon} \dot{\xi} \dot{\epsilon} c$ 
  - ται [ύ]μεῖν δημ[οςιῶςα]ι περὶ πάντων . . . [ . ] . των ἀρχει[ . . έ]περωτηθὶς ωμολό[γης]α. ὑπατίας Πρόκλ[ου καὶ] Παυλίνου, Μεχεὶρ [ ].

(m. 2 or m. 3?) ειζτε...../

23 l. ἐπερωτηθείς; first ε of παρειληφέναι corr. from α 24 υπαρχοντω 25 l. ἐγκαλεῖν, ἐγκαλέςειν; ϋμειν; l. ὑμῖν, ἐξεδόμην; ἀποτελεςτικήν: first  $\tau$  corr. from  $\lambda$ ,  $\lambda$  corr. from  $\epsilon$  26 l. ὑμῖν, ἐπερωτηθείς, ὑπατείας

(m. 2) 'Copy.' (m. 1) 'Aurelius Acithales, son of Heron and grandson of Hierax, from the most illustrious city of the Alexandrians, residing in the Epsilon district in the locality of the so-called Sigma, in the house of Casius, to the heirs of Boccas from the territory of the Mastitae in the Mareotic nome, through the elder brother Aurelius Philammon, with the consent of Aurelius Syrus son of Apollonius from the same territory of the Mastitae, previously appointed as guardian for the said Philammon, greetings. Since your aforementioned father Boccas, in accordance with the testament of Aurelius Ammonius son of Syrus from the same territory of the Mastitae, became appointed guardian of Isis the daughter of the said Ammonius, who had been left by him as sole heiress, and on your aforementioned father's death I was appointed guardian for the child following an order of my lord Isidorus, who then adorned the throne of the praesidiate of the said Alexandria, in accordance with the minutes which were made concerning this matter, and for the sake of the recovery of the estate of the said child I made a petition to my lord the prefect of Egypt Flavius Magnus, vir perfectissimus, and he ordered (her estate) to be given back, accordingly being present here . . . received from you the heirs of Boccas, the guardian of . . . child, everything belonging to the girl in my guardianship, namely the said Isis, in accordance with the testament of her father Ammonius upon all the legal conditions which it contains, and to have received back everything pertaining to the said will . . . down to the last penny, excepting alone the linen on account of its being allocated to the laying-out and funeral of Boccas; and in addition from the moneys from the price for the possessions sold in accordance with the said testament, totalling eight hundred silver talents, I have received (after deductions by you on account in accordance with what was bequeathed, namely one hundred talents for your father Boccas and ninety talents for his funeral in accordance with his own will, and a further thirty talents similarly bequeathed on account of the childbirth of Ammonius' wife the mother of the girl) the remaining five hundred and eighty talents, plus ten talents from the price for a donkey and fourteen silver talents from the . . . sold to Menas . . . , of which the counting out to me has been fully completed. The interest on the aforesaid quantity of money, from the first up to the present day, has been offset against the maintenance and expenses incurred with regard to the orphan; but I have likewise received the ninety-six talents remaining of the interest after the amounts reckoned for all expenses had been credited(?) to you. Thus in total seven hundred silver talents have been counted out to me. . . . the aforesaid Ammonius in his own testament gave instructions to your said father Boccas to go to law against Aquila . . . I have received from you and . . . four pounds of . . . Questioned in respect of your stewardship of the money and uncoined silver and also the gold and bronze objects and woollen clothing and everything else down to the last penny, excepting only the linen, I have acknowledged full receipt in accordance with the testament, and from henceforth I shall have no case against you regarding your father's management of the orphan's money, and in general as far as concerns all

the property he took in hand in no way do I make any charge against you nor shall I do so on any pretext whatever. I have issued this final receipt to you in triplicate, which you may register . . . in answer to the question I have given my assent. In the consulship of Proculus and Paulinus, Mecheir [ ].'

(m. 2 or m. 3?),...

1 ἀ(ντίγραφον). Alpha is bisected by a diagonal from lower left (cf. LI 3611 22 n.). There were three copies, cf. 25. The printed transcript does not show the correct location of this marginal notation, which is halfway along the sheet above  $\pi \delta \lambda \epsilon \omega c$  in 2.

2 Αειθάλης. The name appears as Αϊθάλης in 3757 15 and 3758 81 and Αειθάλης in 3758 89, 95. 3757 21 inadvertently omits initial letters, thus  $\langle A\epsilon \rangle \iota \theta \acute{a} \lambda \eta \epsilon$ . These are the only appearances so far in papyri of this rare name. Spelling  $A\epsilon\iota$  but above all the diaeresis in 3757 15 and 3758 81 indicate that the name was not

trisyllabic but tetrasyllabic.

 $\vec{\epsilon}$ ν τ $\hat{\omega}$  ε $\hat{\iota}$  γράματος (l. γράμματι). For the five γράμματα, divisions of Alexandria, see Calderini, Diz. geogr. i 1. 79-80; P. M. Fraser, Ptolemaic Alexandria i 34-5. XLVI 3271 6 now provides a reference to the

Gamma district, and the present papyrus appears to be our first reference to the Epsilon district.

Cίγματος. This appears to be previously unrecorded. Given our limited knowledge of Alexandrian topography, there can be no justification for supposing this to be a misspelt reference to the tomb of Alexander, see Calderini, op. cit. i 1. 149-51, s.v. εῶμα, εῆμα. A semicircular portico, cf. LSJ?

3 [έ]ν τοις Καςίου. Cf. XLI 2980 14, delivery instructions είς τὰ Θέωνο(ς) on the back of a letter.

Βότκα. Elsewhere in this volume the name is consistently spelt Βοκκ-, and is written uniformly Βοκκα in the oblique cases; there is one nominative example (l. 5 here) where the name appears as Βόκκας. This name found no entry in the NB but is now well attested: P. Bour. 42. 572, SB V 7515. 295, 305, 309, X 10615. 3. There is some chance that another example exists in XIV 1728 10, where Grenfell and Hunt read Βόκκου (or Βοκκα( ), see their n.); from a photograph Βόκκα may be the right reading. See now also ZlE 66 (1986) 90.

Mατιτῶν. Cf. 4 Mατιττῶν, and ultimately the right spelling Mαςτιτῶν in 5. For the territory of the Mastitae

see A. Calderini and S. Daris, Diz. geogr. iii 3. 241. Note also XLVI 3292.

τοῦ Μαρεώτου νομοῦ. See Calderini-Daris, op. cit. iii 3. 234; also M. Rodziewicz, Graeco-Arabica 2 (1983) 199-216.

4 κουράτορος. Cf. 5 ἐπίτρο $\langle \pi o \rangle$ ς (also 7, 10 and ἐπιτροπευομένη in 11 and 3757 6-7). For the fading

distinction between these terms see Aeg. 61 (1981) 109 n. 15; R. Taubenschlag, Law2 180.

7 For Isidorus, praeses of Aegyptus Iovia, see LI 3619. The description  $\tau \hat{\eta} \epsilon \hat{\eta} \gamma \epsilon \mu o \nu i \alpha \epsilon \dots \lambda \lambda \epsilon \hat{\xi} a \nu \delta \rho \epsilon i \alpha \epsilon$  adds welcome confirmation of his sphere of authority. We cannot fix the date at which Isidorus was in office, without knowing the date of the death of Boccas, but nevertheless the events of 3756 suggest only a brief time-lapse between involvement of praeses and involvement of prefect, and Isidorus may have been the last holder of the office of praeses Ioviae. A terminus post quem for the end of the tenure of the last holder would be supplied by the last attested date for Sabinianus as praeses Mercurianae (AD 324), cf. 9 n., as well as by the abdication of Licinius (September 324), see 3619 introd. For Mercuriana as Sabinianus' area of authority see J. D. Thomas, BASP 21 (1984) 225-34.

τοῦ διακοςμής αντος τὸν θρόνον τῆς ἡγεμονίας. Cf. 3758 7-8 (Sabinianus, praeses Mercurianae); also P. Sak. 32.

18-19, Septimius Apollonius κοςμήςαντος την διοίκηςιν.

9 Flavius Magnus is an addition to the known prefects of Egypt (J. Lallemand, L'Admin. civile 241). He is attested several times in the texts in this volume; this is the earliest reference, the papyrus being dated Jan./Feb. 325, and he is still in office at the date of 3759, 2 Oct. 325. In between come 3757 (13 Mar. 325, but the reference is probably to the same action as in 3756 g) and 3758 10 and 15 (and 80-1 and 93 which = 3757). Can we say how much earlier than Jan./Feb. 325 Magnus may have been in office? Sabinianus (see 37588n.) is still attested as praeses Mercurianae in 324. It is possible that Iovia could have been put in the hands of a prefect while Mercuriana and Herculia each continued under a praeses, but it is much more likely that the three subdivisions were amalgamated and brought under the control of a prefect simultaneously, after September 324 (3619 introd.). It is possible then that Magnus was the first prefect after the decade without one. His successor may have been Ti. Flavius Laetus, attested for 2 Feb. 326 by LI 3620. The next certain prefect was Septimius Zenius, Oct./Nov. 327, P. Harr. II 215 recto. See now also BASP 22 (1985) 25-7-

clear enough however. The probable initial  $\pi$  excludes reading  $\tau \hat{\eta} \epsilon$   $\lambda \mu \mu \omega \nu i \sigma v$ .  $\pi \rho \phi \delta \eta \lambda \phi \nu \mu \epsilon \nu \phi v$  (cf. 4–5)  $\langle \tau \hat{\eta} \epsilon \rangle$ ?

12 μέχρι ἀςταρίου ένός. Cf. 23, and P. Köln III 155. 16-17 (ἔως ἀςταρίου ένός) and SB VI 9403. 14 (revised ZPE 35 (1979) 140), ἄχρι ἀς⟨ς⟩αρίου ένός; also 3758 11, 30, 38. West-Johnson, Currency 121.

ì

13 κηδίαν. See CPR VI (pt. 1) 1. 14 n.

προς επί very doubtful. Of the first five letters virtually nothing remains, but a horizontal suggests  $\pi$  and a small loop following is consistent with  $\rho$ .  $\pi\iota$  is certain. If  $\pi\rho\sigma\iota$  were right, this would appear to be an earlier adverbial use of a word frequent in later Byzantine papyri in usages of the type  $\pi\rho\sigma\iota$  τούτοιε (though some commentators would divide  $\pi\rho\delta\iota$  and take  $\pi\rho\delta\iota$  adverbially, cf. P. Lond. V 1660. 33 n.). Or did our writer intend  $\pi\rho\sigma\iota$  in the  $\pi\sigma\iota$  in the  $\pi\sigma\iota$  in the  $\pi\rho\sigma\iota$  in the  $\pi\sigma\iota$  i

15 λοχιῶν. The child Isis was born before her father's death, cf. 6 where she is left his heir; since there is no mention of a second child of Ammonius', this deduction of 30 talents must be to meet obligations Ammonius

incurred towards Boccas and his family in connection with Isis' birth.

16 For early fourth-century donkey prices cf.  $\angle PE$  6 (1970) 181; Aeg. 54 (1974) 61-2; XLIII 3143 13 n., 3145 11 n., and  $\angle PE$  24 (1977) 116-17; and, most recently, R. S. Bagnall, Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt (= BASP Suppl. 5 (1985)) 67-8. Ten talents for the donkey here may be only a partial price.

[,]. χυρου. Space and much-damaged traces could suggest [ε]νεχύρου; the space might possibly admit of  $[\tau o]\hat{v}$  ἀχύρου, which is more easily comprehended with ἀποδοθέντος (and the donkey has already provided an

agricultural context), but first v is difficult.

After  $M\eta\nu\hat{a}$ , a damaged patronymic? A construction with genitive  $M\eta\nu\hat{a}$  is also conceivable.

19 Reading after  $d\gamma[\alpha]\lambda\omega\mu\alpha\tau\sigma\sigma$  is baffling.  $\epsilon$  could be read as  $\gamma$ , if its supposed centre bar were in reality the extended finial of preceding  $\epsilon$ .  $\gamma$  is almost certain. I had initially thought of  $\gamma\gamma\omega\epsilon\theta[\epsilon\nu]\tau\alpha$ , but the supposed right loop of would-be  $\omega$  seems rather to consist of a vertical (with an awkward low trace) and centre horizontal; these might suggest eta, but then the left loop is unexplained. A verb implying 'credited' or the like seems to be wanted. For the periphrastic construction see F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and F. Rehkopf, Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch (1979) §355; cf. too  $\epsilon t\nu\alpha\iota$ ...  $d\pi\alpha\rho\iota\theta\mu\eta\theta\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha$  at the end of this same line.

20  $\pi$ .[.]... We might expect  $\pi$ εριών but it seems too wide for the space.

δικάςαςθαι πρὸς Ἀκύλαν. There is no further mention of this lawsuit in the archive. Presumably it was pending when Ammonius drew up his will (this is curious; was the lawsuit one which would arise on Ammonius' death?), now past with Boccas' death. The damaged next line may have elaborated on the case.

21 καβε. The name of the village probably lurks here. No village that will fit the traces is recorded, but

this is not surprising.

22  $\tau \hat{\eta} \varsigma$ . I do not think  $\tau \hat{\eta} \nu$  can be read. Therefore correct to  $\tau \hat{\eta} \nu$ , or alternatively correct  $\hat{\nu} \pi o \delta o \chi \hat{\eta} \nu$  ( $\nu$  certain) to  $\hat{\nu} \pi o \delta o \chi \hat{\eta} \varepsilon$ . For  $\tilde{a} \varepsilon \eta \mu o \nu =$  uncoined silver see CE 48 (1973) 372-4.

25 ἀποτελεςτικήν. Cf. the app. crit. The writer wrote απολες before realizing and correcting his error.

26 For δημοτίωτις see M. Hässler, Die Bedeutung der Kyria-Klausel 77 ff., and H. J. Wolff, Das Recht der

griechischen Papyri Ägyptens (Handb. d. Altertumswissenschaft X 5. 2) 129 ff.

For the consular formula cf. XLIII 3125 9n. The proceedings referred to in the first paragraph of that note, with dates by Proculus and Paulinus for 3 and 17 March 325, are 3758 below, which adjoins the right edge of this text. The dating by Paulinus and Julianus for 13 March 325 is in 3757 on the back of this text. A further example of Proculus and Paulinus may be in VI 889 11–12, see T. D. Barnes, ZPE 21 (1976) 279–81. This article wrongly reports the day of the month in 889 12 as Pachon 24 (= 19 May, not 18 May) when the papyrus (and ed. pr.) clearly has Pachon 29 (= 24 May). This is uncomfortably but of course not impossibly close to the dating by Paulinus and Julianus in XIV 1626 23 (Pauni 1 = 26 May). 889 was independently and concurrently discussed by J. D. Thomas, Anc. Soc. 7 (1976) 301–8 (with pl. VI), but without suggesting Proculus and Paulinus as the consuls in 11–12. 889 was further discussed by T. D. Barnes, The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine 234–7, and by T. D. Barnes and K. A. Worp, ZPE 53 (1983) 276–8.

27 Full transcription of the docket has so far escaped me. The transcript does not accurately record its location; it begins at the mid-point of the full line-length, 1.5 cm below l. 26. There are some scattered inkmarks both before and after it, but insufficient remains to show whether they are other than mere blots.

#### 3757. Proceedings before the Logistes

7 1B.212/11 Width 25 cm 13 March 325

This report, more or less complete if somewhat shredded, is written along the fibres transversa charta on the back of 3756, which is dated the previous month and documents

an earlier stage of the same affair; 3757 is itself a fair copy of the cancelled II. 78–97 of 3758 which is attached to the right edge of 3756. For the chronology and explanation of this composition see 3756 introd.

In Jan./Feb. 325 Aeithales had given Philammon and his brothers a complete discharge ( = 3756) regarding their involvement with the property of the child Isis in his (Aeithales') guardianship. All was apparently not well, however: here in the following month we find the two parties in dispute before the curator civitatis in Oxyrhynchus over the allegedly unpaid sum of 50 talents. 3758 78-97 = 3757 records this hearing. Aeithales adduces an order of the prefect, probably the same instructions as are referred to in 3756 9, which required Philammon and his brothers to release the property in dispute; and he also claims to have a document in which Philammon acknowledges the residual debt of 50 talents. Philammon for his part produces the discharge document (presumably 3756 itself) in which Aeithales declares all Philammon's obligations have been cleared. The curator, bound to see that the prefect's order is complied with, while faced with incompatible documentation, takes the easy way out and elects to assert the terms of 3756 which had satisfied Aeithales and still of course satisfied Philammon; he ignores Aeithales' document concerning the 50 talents, and instructs him to initiate a new process for the reclamation of this sum. There is no further reference to this document of Aeithales' in the archive, so that we do not know the outcome of the affair. For the time being 375878-97 = 3757 exonerated Philammon, thus providing the more reason for him (see 3756 introd.) to attach the roll with the rough copy of the proceedings to 3756 and then have the revised version copied out on 3756's back.

The Oxyrhynchite connection of this sequence is puzzling, since both Aeithales and Philammon came from Alexandria or its environs. Had Philammon between Jan./Feb. 325 (3756) and 13 March 325 (3758 78-97 = 3757) moved to Oxyrhynchus, taking

3756 with him, and had Aeithales pursued him there?

3757 and 3758 78-97 help to supplement each other in the damaged or missing passages, except in 3757 12, which is absent from the rough copy, and in the lacuna in 3757 14, which contained something absent from the rough copy. The opening with the consular formula in 3757 1-2 is also different from every example of the consular formula in 3758; 3757 was clearly copied not from the rough copy 3758 78-97 but from some other exemplar, and copied after the consular change (see 3756 26 n.).

<sup>4</sup>  $\lambda o \gamma \epsilon \epsilon^{j}$ ; so in 17 Final supplement cramped or abbreviated

- 5 τῆς Αἰγύπτο[υ] Φλ[αουίο]υ Μάγνου ἐπήνεγκεν τῆ ἐμῆ με[τρ]ι[ότητι Ἀειθάλης]
  - ἀπὸ χώρας Μᾳςτ̞ι[τῶν περὶ πραγμάτων διαφερόντων τῆ ἐπιτρο-]
    πευομένη ὑπὰ αὐτοῦ παιδὶ Ἰςιτι καὶ διακατεχομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ πᾳρ[όν-]
    τος Φιλάμμωνος καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ κληρονόμων Βόκκα. ἐν ςτ[έρ-]
    νοις τοίνυν ἔχων τὸν . . . τῆς ἀνδρείας φόβον τοῦ τηλικούτου ἄρχο[ντος]
- 10 μεταδέδ[ωκα μὲν τοῖς ἀντιδικοῦςι τὰ προςτεταγμένα, ἐνήγα-]
  γον δὲ αὐτοὺς ἵνα γνῶμεν τίνα ἐςτὶν ἃ διεπράξαντ[ο] πρὸ[ς αὑτοὺς]
  ὑπὲρ τοῦ παν..... τὸ τηλικοῦτο πληροῦςθαι πρόςταγμα. Φιλά[μμων]
  ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)· διελύθημεν καὶ ἔχω γραμματείον περὶ τ[ούτου. ὁ λογι(ςτὴς)
  εἶ(πεν)· ἀναγνωςθή-]
  - τω. καὶ ἀνεγνώς θη οὕτως ὡς π[ε]ρμε[χει] . [2-3] . [.] . [2-3] . [.] . [ c.6 μετὰ τὴν]
- 15 ἀνάγνως ιν, Αϊθάλης ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)· ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων ἐνωφ[εί-] λης εν [μοι] ἀργ(υρίου) (τάλαντα) ν΄, ὧν καὶ ἐγράψατο εἴςω προθεςμίας ἀποδώς[ειν,]
  - καὶ ἔχω τὸ γραμματεῖον τῆς ὀφειλῆς. ὁ λογι $(c\tau η)$ ς εἶ $(\pi \epsilon v)$ · τὸ πρόςταγμα τοῦ κυρίου
  - μου τοῦ διαςημοτάτου ἐπάρχου  $[\tau]$ η̂ς Αἰγύπτου Φλαουίου Μάγνου ἐπὶ πέρας ἤχθη· τὸ γὰρ γραμματεῖον τῆς μεταξὴ γενομένης  $[\delta]$ ια [λύςεως]
- 20 διελέχχει πεπίς θαι ἀμφότερα τὰ μέρη. ὅθεν ἀναχωρής ειτε ἐ $\llbracket \pi \iota \rrbracket$ 'πὶ' τ $\llbracket \circ \iota \circ \iota \rangle$  γενομένοις ὑφ' ὑμῶν ςυμφώνοις. περὶ δέ γε οῦ φης ιν ὁ  $\langle A \epsilon \rangle$ ιθάλη $\llbracket c \rrbracket$  γραμματείου τοῦ χρέους τῷν (ταλάντων) ν', κατὰ κ $\llbracket \alpha \iota \rrbracket$ ρὸν  $\llbracket \mu \epsilon \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \iota \circ \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota \rrbracket$  τὸν χρεώς την περὶ τῆς ἐνκειμένη $\llbracket c \iota \delta \rrbracket$ φειλῆς.

7 διακατεχομένων: κατ rewritten; ων corr. (cf. 3758 83)? 8 First  $\mu$  of Φιλάμμωνος corr. from  $\nu$  12 αι of πληροῦςθαι rewritten 13 απεκρ( ): see 13 n. 15 αϊθαλης: l. Ἀειθάλης 16 l. ἄ 17 ο of first τό rewritten 20 l. πεπεῖςθαι;  $\chi$  of ἀναχωρήςειτε corr.? l. ἀναχωρήςετε 21  $\ddot{\imath}$ θαλης

'Year 19 and nine, Phamenoth 17. In the consulship of Paulinus and Julianus, viri clarissimi.

'At the Capitolium, in the presence of Horion and Heras, assistants, and Eulogius, assessor. The curator said, "An order of my lord the prefect of Egypt, Flavius Magnus, vir perfectissimus, has been brought before my humble self by Aeithales from the territory of the Mastitae, concerning property belonging to the child Isis, who is in his guardianship, which is being detained by Philammon, here present, and his brothers, heirs of Boccas. So, keeping in my heart the fear of the Nobility of so great an official, I have communicated his orders to the parties in the case, and I have brought them in so that we may know what mutual arrangements they have come to for the . . . fulfilment of so great an order." Philammon answered, "We made an agreement, and I have a document about this." The curator said, "Let it be read." And it was read as follows . . . After the reading, Aeithales answered, "Out of this property he owed 50 silver talents, which he wrote that he would repay within the appointed time, and I have the document attesting the debt." The curator said, "The order of my lord the prefect of Egypt, Flavius Magnus, vir perfectissimus, has been carried out; the document of discharge

between you shows both sides to be in agreement. Wherefore you will depart, abiding by the conditions of the agreements made between you. As regards the document which Aeithales mentions concerning the debt of 50 talents, at the proper time he is to sue the debtor regarding the obligation contained therein."

1 For the avoidance of  $\theta$  in regnal-year dating see J. D. Thomas, ZPE 24 (1977) 241-3; P. Mich. XV 724. 8n. For the consuls cf. 3756 26 n.

3 Καπιτωλίω. See A. Calderini and S. Daris, Diz. geogr. iii 68; G. Ronchi, Lex. Theonymon iii 570. For its use for court hearings cf. 3758 156. Other locations for hearings before the logistes: Ἀδριανίω (3758 134, 3767 1, 3764 14, P. Harr. 160. 2 as re-ed. ZPE 37 (1980) 237); γυμνασίω (3758 181); Κορίω ἰερώ (3759 1 and 3742 back), and λογιστηρίω (3758 98). ἐπὶ παρόντων: see 3758 156-8 n.

Horion and Heras recur elsewhere: Horion in 3758 79 (the duplicate of this passage), 98, 137, 157, and

184; Heras in 3758 79 (the duplicate passage) and 99.

4 Εὐλογίου παρέδρου. He recurs several times in 3758: 79 (the duplicate of this passage), 99, 157, 184, 221. Could this Eulogius conceivably be the later logistes (AD 341: see Appendix I below)?

5 Flavius Magnus, praefectus Aegypti. See 3756 9 n.  $\tau \hat{\eta}$   $\hat{\epsilon} \mu \hat{\eta}$   $\mu \epsilon [\tau \rho] \iota [\acute{o} \tau \eta \tau \iota : see 3758 8 \iota$  n.

6 å $\pi$ ò  $\chi$ ώρας  $Maggel[\tau$ ών. Cf. 3758 81. Aeithales describes himself as an Alexandrian in 3756 2. Scattered traces are visible in the indicated lacuna, but I cannot allocate them to individual letters; the reading is restored from the cancelled copy. Similarly in 10.

8-9 ἐν cτέρνοις κτλ. Cf. M. Chr. 77. 6 (= P. Lips. 36) and 78. 5.

9 Possibly four letters between  $\tau \delta v$  and  $\tau \hat{\eta} \epsilon$ . Presumably a preposition came here, but I have not been able to establish which one, in the broken state of the papyrus. Cf. 3758 85.

ἀνδρείας: cf. 3758 10 and see CPR V 7.9 n. These new examples applied to the prefect amplify the pattern outlined in the note in CPR V and show that the title was resumed by the prefect when the post was restored after the defeat of Licinius; it continued to be used by the praeses Thebaidos.

13  $d\pi \epsilon \kappa \rho(i\nu a\tau o)$  is marked as abbreviated by a horizontal cutting the descender of rho; so also in 15 and frequently in proceedings in this volume and elsewhere.

17-19 τὸ πρόςταγμα . . . ἐπὶ πέρας ἤχθη. Cf. M. Chr. 78. 4.

#### **3758.** Proceedings before the Logistes

7 1B.212/11+
13 1B.212-213/A(a-h)

25 × 290 cm

Feb.?/Mar. 325

For a general introduction to this papyrus and its physical relationship to 3756–7 and other texts in this volume, see the general introduction to 3756–8 above; further comments are in the introductions to 3756 and 3757. Lines 39 to the end of 3758, covering at least seven different hearings with dates from Phamenoth 7–22, are on one roll 246.5 cm long made up to take them, it seems, by reusing documents that had come into the logistes' bureau and been discarded. Lines 5–38, containing a report of an earlier hearing in Phamenoth, were recorded on an unused piece of papyrus, measuring  $25 \times 43.5$  cm and blank on the back except for the title  $\dot{v}\pi o\mu v \dot{\eta}\mu a\tau a \mu \eta v \dot{o} c \Phi a\mu \epsilon v \dot{\omega}\theta$  etc. (= 3758 1–4); this may have been the title for 5–38 simply, or it may have been written there as the title for the whole of 3758. At any rate its location on the back of the roll makes it clear that it was written before the combined 3758 roll was affixed to 3756. The whole of 3758 is written in transversa charta form. A result of its bipartite structure is that 5–38 are written across the fibres, 39 onwards along them.

On the transversa charta format see E. G. Turner, The Terms Recto and Verso (Pap. Brux. 16) 26-53, esp. 51. 3758 is the unpublished Oxyrhynchus text referred to on p. 51.

Note that it is not a τόμος ευγκολλήσιμος, as there stated, in the usual implication of that expression. I confirm the *transversa charta* format of XXXI **2562**, re-edited here as **3767**.

The chronological pattern of the hearings is as follows:

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5-38 date lost (but it should be Phamenoth 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, or 7)
39-77 Phamenoth 7 = Wednesday, 3 March 325
78-97
98-131 Phamenoth 17 = Saturday, 13 March 325
134-155 Phamenoth 21 = Wednesday, 17 March 325
156-180 Phamenoth 22 = Thursday, 18 March 325
181-213 Phamenoth 19 = Monday, 15 March 325
214-228 date(s) lost
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The date Phamenoth 19, which interrupts the sequence, must of course throw some doubt on the conclusions above and in 5 n. below on the date of ll. 5-38.

Some of the hearings have such extensive alterations (e.g. over twenty in 39-77, over a dozen in 78-97) as to give the impression of being drafts. That they are copies is clear from the gaps between the day-figures.

Why were these hearings copied out together? Clearly they do not form the total of the *curator's* activity, and they are in no way his daybook. Many of the cases concern inheritance law in some aspect or other (not, notably, the first, ll. 5–38), and the reason for the collection may lie in this direction; yet they do not obviously illustrate the Aeithales case (= 3756) to which they were attached, except of course for ll. 78–97, which were recopied as 3757.

Lines 5-38 are concerned with the responsibility for a quantity of compulsorily purchased military clothing now surplus to requirements. Initially a sum of money was exacted from the  $\delta\eta\mu\dot{\delta}\tau\alpha\iota=\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\nu\dot{\epsilon}$  by the councillors and/or landowners. This money was then used for the purchase in Tyre of 150  $\epsilon\tau\iota\chi\dot{\alpha}\rho\iota\alpha$ , through the agency of the prytanis Leucadius. The prefect then decreed that the  $\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\nu\dot{\epsilon}=\delta\eta\mu\dot{\delta}\tau\alpha\iota$  should be refunded their money, and Leucadius is instructed to pay it back and try to recover his losses from the landowners or his fellow councillors, who had been ordered to purchase the  $\epsilon\tau\iota\chi\dot{\alpha}\rho\iota\alpha$ : if they were now willing to repurchase them, they could then sell them themselves for whatever price they wished (or could get!). Naturally, Leucadius was unhappy with this arrangement, and the dialogue is lively almost to the point of rudeness. But Leucadius loses, it seems: the logistes overrides his objections and insists on the implementation of the prefect's orders.

The case contrasts the authority of the praeses Mercurianae (Sabinianus, see 8 n.) with that of the praefectus Aegypti (Flavius Magnus, see 3756 9 n.) in a way which probably reflects a chronological contrast: cf. LI 3619 introd., 3756 introd. and 7 n., 9 n., and note also l. 43 below,  $\tau \dot{\eta} \nu \dot{\eta} \gamma \epsilon \mu o \nu (a \nu \tau \dot{\eta} \nu \tau o \tau \epsilon)$ , implying that the first of the two offices no longer existed. The apparent ability of the councillors/landowners to ignore the praeses' authority (16–17: implicit in  $\epsilon i \mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \beta o \dot{\nu} \lambda o \nu \tau a \nu$ . . .  $\kappa a \theta \dot{\omega} c \pi \rho o c \tau \dot{\epsilon} \tau a \kappa \tau a \nu$ ) is at first sight

astonishing, but is presumably explicable by the praeses' orders having been superseded

by those of the prefect.

Lines 39-77 concern conflicting claims to some gold jewellery, which appears to have been passed around various members of the family concerned in trust, and then ultimately—legitimately?—to have formed the object of a bequest by the plaintiff's mother, now deceased. Much is unclear, perhaps because of abridgement in drafting the report (either the original record of the hearing or this copy of it). The various family relationships in particular are not clear to me.

Lines 78-97 were cancelled and a revised version written out on the back of 3756; this revised version is published here as 3757. It differs from the cancelled version, even after the many corrections in that, at (line-numbers in brackets are those of 3757) 78

(1-2), 86 (11), 87 (12), 89 (14), 90 (16), and 91 (16).

These lines (78-97) record a sequel to the wrangling over the property of an orphan minor in guardianship, revealed to us by **3756**. Now the child's current guardian is suing his predecessor's sons over the alleged retention of 50 talents. The *curator civitatis* avoids an impasse, temporarily, by asserting the validity of the previous document of receipt and discharge (presumably **3756** itself) supplied by the current guardian to his deceased predecessor's sons.

Detailed commentary on these lines will be found under 3757; I provide notes here

on points specific to this version of the report, along with an apparatus criticus.

Lines 98-131 are concerned with conflicting claims on some house-property left by Amois, now deceased, to his daughter; the girl had had a brother, but he had died, leaving her as sole heiress. A Libyan called Syrus has made some claim on the property, the details of which remain obscure for us.

Lines 132-3 give the consular year, closely preceding the following section but in a different hand so that the structural link is uncertain, although this is hardly of importance.

Lines 134-55 record a straightforward apertura testamenti. The will was made on Phamenoth 20 (16 March) and opened and read in this hearing the following day, Phamenoth 21, after the death of the testatrix. Lines 181-213 record a similar case, and the two usefully supplement each other where one or other is damaged. Regarding the time-lapse note M. Amelotti, Il testamento romano i (1966) 186. It is to be noted that the curator authorizes the start of preparations for burial (152-3); if this were a routine element in the procedure (cf. 209-10), it provides an obvious reason for haste. The session in 134 ff. was held in the Hadrianeum, but this was a routine location for proceedings before the logistes (cf. 3767) and need not necessarily be connected with the custom that wills should be opened in an imperial temple (see e.g. P. Mert. II 75 introd.); the session in 181 ff. is held in the γυμνάσιον.

Lines 156-80 are more damaged than the preceding sections, as the condition of the roll deteriorates the nearer it gets to its end. There is no obvious connection with inheritance law here; the case concerns a house in Oxyrhynchus belonging to a councillor apparently from some other city. Seemingly the house had been let to a certain Hermias, who had disappeared to the Oasis locking (?  $\delta\pi\delta$   $\epsilon\eta\mu\acute{a}\nu\tau\rhoo\iota\epsilon$   $\pi\sigma\imath\acute{\eta}\epsilon\alpha\epsilon$   $a\mathring{v}\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ , 162-3) the house up behind him. It appears that the owner is now trying to regain access to the property. 164-7 imply that this is the second time the case has come before the curator, and 170 and 173-4 suggest that the case may earlier have come before the praeses. The plaintiffs request that the curator should authorize action in their favour in accordance with his earlier instructions; prima facie this would be a judgement in absentia, but it is seemingly argued that Hermias is in some way under his mother's control and that since she is present in court (she is technically the defendant, see  $156-8\,\mathrm{n.}$ ) she can receive judgement on his behalf. The mother denies any responsibility for her son (her claim presumably is that the obligations of materna potestas have been annulled by  $\mathring{a}\pi\sigma\kappa\acute{\eta}\rho\nu\xi\iota\epsilon$ , see  $169\,\mathrm{n.}$ ); a much-damaged section follows, but at the end of the proceedings (180) the curator gives a decision in favour of the plaintiffs.

Lines 181-213 contain another record of apertura testamenti closely parallel to 134-55 above. The main 3758 roll breaks off at l. 213 before the record has quite finished (probably little is lost, cf. 134-55). The testator here is a veteran, Besarion, and the will was made in the preceding year, AD 324. Four of the original signatories are present for the opening.

The text transcribed as 3758 concludes with ll. 214–28, which are on two tattered fragments found with the rest of 3758 and presumably from the deteriorating end of the roll. The similarities between 3736 col. ii, on the front of 214–20, and 3737–40, on the front of 181–213, provide a reasonable guarantee of the connection, but it is not clear what interval there may have been between the main stretch of 3758 and these two fragments. That the only reply to the *curator* preserved (214) does not come from Poemenius (cf. 184, 197, 205) or Capitolinus (cf. 193–4) indicates that 214–19 are not a continuation of 181–213, as too does 219 if rightly read. Spacing between 219 and 220 suggests that 220 may then begin a fresh hearing; if so, 214–19 conclude a hearing separate from 181–213 and the gap between 213 and 214 will have been considerable. It is uncertain whether the hearing beginning in 220 continues in 221–8 on the last fragment, where 221 (see n.) again indicates that we are near the beginning of a report. The length measurements given at the beginning of this introduction and in the heading take no account of these potential gaps.

There are considerable variations in the script, but often the changes in style are so gradual that it is very difficult to ascertain where there are hand-changes. There is a change, perhaps only a change of pen, at 58; more abrupt changes of style occur at 79, 98, 132, and 134.

As regards sheet-joins or kolleseis, the roll exemplifies two types: (a) three-layer joins (see LI 3624-6 introd. and P. Harr. II 212 introd.) in the manufacture of original new rolls; (b) four-layer joins where pieces of scrap papyrus have been pasted together for reuse on the back, which occur passim in this roll, cf. the diagram in the general introduction to 3756-8 above. The kolleseis I am concerned here to pinpoint first are

those of type (a). In 3758, ll. 1-38 are the only section where the kolleseis relate to 3758 as the primary document. Their presence elsewhere in the roll is irrelevant here, being the concern of the commentaries on the texts on the other side; after the reuse, of course, they may lie either way round, depending on which way round the disused papyrus was laid. Establishing their location in the section with ll. 1-38 is not as easy as it should be, because of damage to the papyrus surface and because of complex fibre-structures in several areas. First, there appears to be a kollesis between 9 and 10, although this is very unclear at the right edge. There must be another one, I think, between 37 and 38 (here there appears to be an extra layer of fibres, about three-quarters of the way across). There is the possibility of a further one at 25. At one point here (seen from the back of around 22) the papyrus is six layers thick! The resulting kollema-widths are 6.5 cm (incomplete), 16.5 cm and 15 cm (if there is a kollesis at 25), and 4.5 cm (incomplete). All these kolleseis would provide 'steps down' in relation to the writing of 3758 5-38. Strengthening strips have been laid down along the level of (and have been overwritten by) ll. 21-3. On the other side, the fibre-structure between 1 and 2 seems more complicated than is warranted by a simple attachment of 3758 to 3756, but I cannot disentangle it.

As regards the joins of type (b), was the roll made up in advance, out of scrap papyrus, to take the collected reports of proceedings, or were the separate hearings recorded on separate scrap pieces and subsequently glued together? Reference to the diagram in the general introduction to 3756–8 will show where the joins occur relative to the line-numbers of 3758, and it will readily be apparent that although at three points (39, 98, 181) the joins coincide with the gaps between hearings, three of the other hearings (78 ff., 134 ff., and 156 ff.) do not start on a separate scrap piece. Also the fragmentary sections with 214 ff. and 221 ff. were probably on the same stretch as 181 ff., cf. 3736 introd., so that only 5–38 could ever have been a completely separate record. The new joins between the scrap pieces were not consistently laid down to provide a series of 'steps down' on the new surface, as might be expected, but overlap both ways; the joins between 129 and 130 and between 176 and 177 are arranged as 'steps up'. There must have been some trimming to obtain an even width for the roll, but the extent of this is not apparent.

2-3 υπομνf; form of abbreviation in  $\mu\eta(\nu\delta\epsilon)$  not clear 4 ρ

βοηθον κ[αὶ]

<sup>6</sup> προπο<sup>λ</sup>, δι'; ω of Capaπίων[oc] corr.? 7 ει 10 Initial μ rewritten? τα of διακημοτάτου partly obscured by fold 13 ε αβι νιανου: here and in several places below there are gaps in the writing where the papyrus surface was already damaged before the text was written 18 απεκρ(): see 3757 13 n. 20 ε of εμαυτοῦ rewritten

38 ω of ξαυτών corr. from o

τὴν ευνωνὴν πεποίηται ἐκάετου ετιχαρίου (δηναρίων) (μυριάδων) ς Ἐχωρἰς τῶν ἀναλωμάτων καὶ ἠ $\gamma$ [ $\epsilon$ ] $\chi$ [ $\theta$  $\eta$ ] τὰ ετιχάρια καὶ ἐνταῦθά ἐετιν καὶ εἰ μὲν βούλει ταῦτα ἐγέχκαι πρὸς ςὲ καὶ διαδούναι οί[ ] βούλει καὶ δὴ εἰπέ· μόνον ἀςφάλειαν θέλω ε...[.]....ραθ... οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ άργύριον οι [0-3] ].  $\alpha$ . [..]. [..] . . . . .  $\delta$   $\acute{v}$   $\acute{v}$   $\acute{a}$   $\acute{u}$   $\acute{a}$   $\acute{v}$   $\acute{a}$   $\acute{c}$   $\acute{\theta}$   $\acute{a}$   $\acute{c}$   $\acute{e}$   $\acute{$ c. 25 . . [ δ λογι $(c\tau\dot{\eta}c)$   $\epsilon\dot{t}(\pi\epsilon\nu)$ . τὰ ετιχάρια οὐ λαμβάνουει οἱ παγανοί, οὐ γὰρ ἐκελεύεθηεαν λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ 25 άργύριον οπερ καὶ παρὰ τὴν εὐχὴν δεδώκαςι. εἰ μὲν οὖν παρεκομίςατε τὰ ςτιχάρια, τοῖς *cυνβουλευταῖ*ς δύνας θε παραχωρής αι τοῖς κελευς θεῖς ιν ἀνής ας θαι καὶ τοῖς κτήτορςιν καὶ δοῦναι τὸ ἀργύριον τοῖς παγανοῖς ποιήςατε. Λευκάδιος πρύτ(ανις)  $\epsilon \hat{i}(\pi \epsilon \nu) \cdot \hat{\epsilon} \gamma \hat{\omega} \hat{a} \lambda \lambda \delta \tau \rho i \delta \epsilon \hat{\epsilon} i \mu i \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ παγανών παραγαύδια ἢνέχθη λάβε, δός μοι ἀςφάλειαν καὶ δὸς οἶς βούλει. ὁ  $\lambda o \gamma \iota (c \tau \dot{\eta} c) \epsilon \dot{\iota} (\pi \epsilon \nu)$ 30 Λευκάδιος πρύτ(ανις) εἶ(πεν). λάβε εὐ τὰ ετιχάρια καὶ πώλει ἢ ὃ θέλεις πρᾶττε· μόνον δός μοι ἀςφάλειαν. πίςτιν έγω ἔ $c\omega ca$ . ὁ λογι $(c\tau\dot{\eta}c)$   $\epsilon \tilde{t}(\pi\epsilon \nu)$ · πόca  $c\tau\iota\chi\acute{a}\rho\iota a$   $\mathring{\eta}\gamma\acute{a}\gamma\epsilon\tau\epsilon$   $\tau \hat{\omega}\nu$   $(\tau a\lambda\acute{a}\nu\tau\omega\nu)$   $^{*}Z$ παρά τῶν δημοτῶν;  $\Lambda$ ευκάδιος πρύτ $(\alpha \nu i c)$  ε $\tilde{i}(\pi \epsilon \nu)$ ·  $[\epsilon$ . ] ε $\tilde{i}$ c πάντα λόγον ἢνέχ $\theta$ η cτιχ(άρια)ρν έκάς του ςτιχ (αρίου) (δηναρίων) (μυριάδων) ς (ἡμίς εως) καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀναλωμάτων (δηνάρια) Ἐ ἀνάλωται. δίδωμί τοι τὸν λόγον εἰς έκας τον κατά τὴ[ν] κέλευτιν τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ διατημοτάτ[ο]υ ἡγεμονεύταντος ζαβινιανοῦ. 35  $\delta$   $\lambda$ [ογ] $\iota$ ( $c\tau\dot{\eta}c$ ) [ $\epsilon$ ] $\hat{\iota}$ ( $\pi\epsilon\nu$ )·  $\delta$ .....[.]...  $\ddot{\eta}$  δὸς οἷς βούλει  $\tau\dot{\alpha}$   $c\tau\iota\chi\dot{\alpha}$ ρια οἵας βούλει τιμής. πάντως γὰρ δεί κατὰ τὴν πρόςταξιν τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ διαςημοτάτου ἐπάρχου [τῆς Α] [[γύπτου Φλαουίου Μάγνου] τὸ ἀργύριον ἐαυτῶν μέχρι ἀςςαρίου ἐνὸς τοὺς δημότας ἀπολαβεῖν.  $28 \pi \rho v^{\tau}$ 24 λογε 30 l. accapíou 3Ι πρατ'τε 33 CTIX

	$[(\Healertimes_{ au} \sigma v \circ v)]$ $\iota  heta f  heta f' \Phi \alpha \mu \epsilon \nu \hat{\omega} \theta \zeta', \  heta \pi a  au \epsilon \iota lpha \epsilon \Gamma \rho \delta \kappa \lambda \delta v \kappa a \hat{\iota} \ \Pi a v \lambda \dot{\iota} [v] \delta v.$
40	[ $c. 14$ ]. [ $c. 12$ ]. [] $\phi$ άνου $\pi$ αρέδρου.
	Θέων δί (πεν).
	αὐτοῦ. τὴν [[ cύμβιον]] `γαμετὴν΄
	έαυτοῦ περιγραφομένην `θεωρῶν ὁ βοηθούμενος΄ λόγω μὲν καὶ τῷ δοκεῖν τῆ
	έντυχεία κέχρηται ἀνενεγκών <i>ἐπ</i> ὶ
	τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τὴν τότε, ἔργοις δὲ καὶ αὐταῖς ταῖς δυνάμιςιν ἴδιον κτῆμα
	ήγούμενος είναι ταῦτα τὰ εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα μεταπηδήςαντα όμοίως τὴν
45	ποιούμενος τ $\hat{\eta}$ αὐτ $\hat{\eta}$ ἀναφορ $\hat{q}$ κέχρηται. καὶ έξ $(\hat{\eta}\epsilon)$ λέγοντος $[\![$ ολο $]\!]$ ό
	$\lambda$ ογι $(c\tau\dot{\eta}c)$ $\epsilon\hat{l}(\pi\epsilon \nu)$ · $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\tau\llbracket\hat{\omega}c$ $\mu\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ $\dot{a}\nu\dot{\eta}$ - $\rrbracket$ $\hat{\omega}c$ $\mu\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ $\dot{a}\nu\dot{\eta}$ - $\mathring{\omega}$
	νεγκεν έπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἁπαξαπλῶς νόμος ἐςτὶν ὥςτε τοὺς
	χαμαιδι-
	καςτὰς ἀκοῦςαι <τοιούτων> τῶν πραγμάτων, δίδωμι τὴν ἀκοὴν [καὶ τῷ π]
	`τῷ πράγματι΄ καὶ ἀκούω τ[[οῦ]] `ῆς΄
	$\llbracket \pi \rho \acute{a} \gamma \mu a \tau o c \rrbracket \ `\acute{v} \pi o \theta \acute{e} c \epsilon \dot{\omega} c' . \ \Theta \acute{e} \omega v \ \acute{\rho} (\acute{\eta} \tau \omega \rho) \ \acute{e} \widetilde{\iota} (\pi \epsilon v) \cdot \ \acute{e} c \tau \eta \kappa \epsilon v \ \acute{\eta} \ \gamma \dot{\nu} v \grave{\eta}$
	$[\cdot]$ το $[\hat{\iota}]$ ἀνενεχ $\theta$ ε $[\hat{\iota}]$ ςιν καὶ το $\hat{\iota}$ ς λεγομέ $\{v\}$ -
	νοις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς. $\llbracket \Theta \acute{\epsilon} ων \acute{\rho} (\acute{\eta} \tau \omega \rho) \epsilon \idelta \ide$
	κόςμον `περι΄ποιηςάμενος χρύςι[ν]ο[ν]
50	παρέθετο τῆ έαυτοῦ γαμετῆ. ταῦτα τὰ εἴδη ἡ παῖς ὡς ἂν πρὸς πλείονα
	φυλακήν
	παρέθετο τῆ μητρὶ τῆ τοῦ βοηθουμένου ἐκείνη καλῶς ποιοῦςα ἡνίκα
	[]βουλημάτιον τυνιταμένη ήθέλητες []
	πάντα τὰ <i>ϵἴδη</i>
	άποκατα κταθηναι τη παιδί. καὶ έξ $(\hat{\eta}\epsilon)$ `λέγοντος' ὁ λογι ( $\epsilon \hat{t}(\pi \epsilon \nu) \cdot [\hat{\eta}$
	διαθή]] τὸ βουλημάτιον διαλέγεται παραθή-
	κην εΐναι καὶ δεῖν ἀποκαταςταθήναι τῷ παιδὶ ἢ οὐ; $\Theta[\epsilon'\omega\nu]$ ρ΄ $(\acute{\eta}\tau\omega\rho)$ εἶ $(\pi\epsilon\nu)$ .
	οὕτως ἔχει καὶ ἀναγεινώςκω.
55	$\delta$ λογι $(\epsilon \tau \dot{\eta} \epsilon)$ $\epsilon \tilde{t}(\pi \epsilon \nu)$ · ἀνάγνωθι. καὶ ἀνεγνώςθη· μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωςιν δ
	λογι(cτη)c) εί(πεν)· `τίc ΄ ἐπηνεγκεν
	τῆ λογιετεία τὸ βουλημάτιον πρὸς λύειν; Θέων ρ΄(ήτωρ) εἶ(πεν)· ἡμεῖς, παρ'
	ή Δημέας οὐκ ἀντεῖπεν.

39 The line will have begun slightly in ecthesis 40 Occasional traces survive, on loose fibres, besides those indicated 42 l. ἐντυχία 44 l. ἐκδικίαν 45 εξ΄, περιτ'τως 54 l. ἀναγινώςκω 55 A space (no diagonal stroke) before the second occurrence of δ λογι( $\epsilon$ της) ε $\epsilon$ (πεν)

	άλλ' ἐπειδή ἐδόκει χρόνον διατρέχειν τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς ἐχούςης τὰ εἴδη
	$\llbracket \emph{\emph{b}}\pi \epsilon  ho \rrbracket$ ` $ au \emph{\emph{$\eta$}} \epsilon \ \pi lpha  ho \emph{\emph{$\psi$}} - \prime$
	` της Ταπατρίνιος ὑπερ΄ τιθεμένης διὰ τοῦτο ἐδέηςεν ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀνάγκην
	<sub>έλ</sub> θόντας καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας
	[.].[] $πρὸ$ δίκης
	μέν μηδεμι-
60	αν ιαν γείνες θαι, ἀποδοθηναι δὲ τῆ παιδὶ κατὰ τὴν βούλης ιν τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ
	`βοηθου[μ]ένου τὸ΄ χρυςίον. Δημέας ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)· δέδωκα. Θέων ρ̄(ήτωρ)
	$\epsilon  ilde{t}(\pi \epsilon  u) \cdot  ilde{\epsilon} \epsilon  au \eta \kappa \epsilon  u \dot{\eta} \pi a \hat{\iota} \epsilon,   ilde{\epsilon} \epsilon  au \eta \kappa \epsilon  u \dot{\delta} \dot{\epsilon}$
	καὶ ἡ τὸ χρυςίον ἔχουςα. λοιπὸν οὐδὲν ὑπολίπεται ἢ ἀγανακτήςαςαν
	τὴν cὴν ἀγχίνοιαν ὅτι τολμᾳ τις ὑπεναντίον βουλήματος γεγενημένου
	διαπράξαςθαι ἀποφήναςθαι καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν διακατέχουςαν ἀπο-
65	δοῦναι ἡμῖν· `ςυνορᾳ γὰρ ἡ ςὴ ἐμμέλια ὡς καὶ τέκνων δικαίω χεχένηται τὸ
	γύναιον.΄ $A$ μμώνιος $\dot{\rho}(\dot{\eta}\tau\omega\rho)$ $\epsilon\hat{l}(\pi\epsilon\nu)$ · $\epsilon$ υνχώρη $\epsilon$ ον
	$\epsilon i\pi \epsilon i\nu$ . $\Theta \epsilon \omega \nu \ \dot{ ho} (\dot{\eta}  au \omega  ho) \ \epsilon \dot{t} (\pi \epsilon  u)$ . $\pi a  ho a \gamma  ho \dot{a} \phi o \mu a \iota$
	$ \qquad \qquad$
	$\lambda \acute{\epsilon} \gamma \llbracket \epsilon \iota \rrbracket \ \dot{\omega} \ \dot{\rho} \ (\acute{\eta} \tau \omega \rho) \ \epsilon \tilde{\iota} (\pi \epsilon \nu) \cdot \ \llbracket o \dot{\varrho} \dot{\varrho} \dot{\varrho} \dot{\varrho} \dot{\varrho} \rrbracket $
	$ληρεῖ· τίς ἐδιδάξ\llbracket εν \rrbracket΄ ατο΄ αὐτὸν εἰπάτω. /ὁ λογιςτὴς εἶ(πεν)· τίς$
	ὢν ἀντιλέγεις; Άμ-
	μώνιος $\dot{\rho}(\dot{\eta}\tau\omega\rho)$ $\dot{\epsilon l}(\pi\epsilon\nu)$ · $\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\dot{\omega}$ ἀντιλέγω πατ $\dot{\eta}\rho$ ὢν τ $\dot{\eta}$ ς παρούς $\eta$ ς παιδὸς καὶ
	ότι αἱ ἐντολαὶ
	Άλεξάνδρας ἐπληρώθηςαν. $ \delta\>$ λογιςτης εί $(\pi \epsilon \nu)$ · προ πόςου χρόνου ή
	Άλεξάνδρα
70	ἀπεγένετο; Δημέας ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)· πρὸ τριῶν ἐτῶν. Ἀμμώνιος ῥ(ήτωρ)
	$\epsilon \tilde{i}(\pi \epsilon v)$ · ἔ $\epsilon \tau \omega \epsilon \alpha v$ κύριαι
	αί διαθήκαι. καὶ έξης λέγοντος $ \dot{\delta} $ λογιςτης εἶ $(\pi \epsilon \nu)$ · εἴτε παρὰ τῷ πατρί ἐςτιν τὰ εἴδη
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
	$\epsilon$ ἴτε παρὰ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἢ παρὰ τῆ Ταπατρίνη τῆ παρούςη δεήςει κατὰ τὸ βου- $\lambda$ η[ $\mu$ a] ταῦτα ἔχειν
	[.]ν εὶ βούλεται ἀπὸ ἰδίας γνώμης τῷ [ἀν]δρὶ δοῦναι, έξους ίαν ἔχει
	$[\epsilon i \ \delta \hat{\epsilon}]$ `][.].[΄ τ $\hat{\omega}$ ἀνδρὶ μήτηρ $[]$ `΄ τ $\dot{\epsilon}$ κνων γεγ $\dot{\epsilon}$ νηται $[\dot{\alpha}$ ποδ $\dot{\omega}$ ς $i$
75	εί σε ] [ . ] . [ τῷ ανορί μητηρ [ ] ΄ τεκνῶν γεγενηταί [αποσῶς] ἔως γὰρ ] `ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀπαξαπλῶς ΄
	έως κάρ που απαζαπλως

60 l. γίνεςθαι; v of final το $\hat{v}$  added 62 l.  $\hat{v}$ πολείπεται 65 l.  $\hat{\epsilon}$ μμέλεια 67 End of ληρε $\hat{i}$  corr.

 $\llbracket \mu \acute{\eta} \tau \eta \rho \ \tau \acute{\epsilon} κνων γέγονεν έξέςται αὐτ<math>\mathring{\eta} \rrbracket \ \tau \acute{\omega} v \ \emph{i} \delta \emph{i} ων ἀπολαύειν & \emph{i} ψ$   $\llbracket \emph{\'e} λαβ \emph{\'e} v \rrbracket \ \emph{`διετάχθη'} παρὰ τῆς γαμβρᾶς αὐτῆς τῆς ἀναπαυςαμένης.$ 

[(ἔτους)] ι[θ]  $\int \theta f'$ , Φαμενὼθ ιζ΄ πρὸς τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ. ἐπὶ παρόντων ' $\Omega$ ρίωνος καὶ 'Hρᾶ ὑπηρετῶν καὶ Εὐλογίου παρέδρου. /ὁ λογιςτὴς εἶ( $\pi$ εν)·

- 8ο πρότταγμα τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ διατημοτάτου ἐπάρχου τῆτ Αἰγύπτου Φλαυίου
- μ( ) Μάγνου ἐπήνεχκεν τῆ ἐμῆ μετριότητι Αϊθάλης ἀπὸ χώρας Μαςςιτῶν περὶ πραγμάτων διαφερόντων τῆ ἐπιτροπευομένη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ `παιδρ' [E] Τςιτικαὶ διακατεχομέν [ov] `ων΄ ὑπὸ τοῦ παρόντος Φιλάμμωνος καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτ[ο] ῦ κληρονόμων Βόκκα. [καὶ τουν] ἐν ςτέρνοις
- 85 [ἔχων] `[οντες]΄ `τοίνυν ἔχων΄ τὸν ... τῆς [ἀνδ]ρ[είας] φ[ό]β[ον τοῦ τηλικούτου ἄ]ρχοντος μετα-δ[έ]δ[ω]κα μὲν τοῖς ἀντιδικοῦςι τὰ προςτετα[γμένα], ἐνήγαγον δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἵνα γνῶμεν τίνα ἐςτὶν ἃ διεπράξαντο πρὸς αὐτούς. Φιλάμμων ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)·διελύθημεν καὶ ἔχω γραμμάτιον περὶ τούτου. /ὁ λογιςτὴς εἶ(πεν)· ἀναγνωςθήτω.
  - καὶ ἀνεγνώςθη `οὖτως ὡς περιέχει΄· μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωςιν Ἀειθάλης  $\mathring{a}πεκρ(ίνατο) \cdot \mathring{a}πὸ τούτων$
- 90 τῶν πραχμάτων ἐνωφίληςέν μοι ἀρχυρίου τάλαντα πεντήκοντα ὧν `καὶ΄ ἐγράψατό μοι εἴςω προθεςμίας ἀποδώςιν· καὶ ἔχω `τὸ΄ γραμμάτιον τῆς ὀφιλῆς.
  - /ὁ λογιστὴς εἶ $(\pi \epsilon \nu)$ · τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ διασημοτάτου ἐπάρχου τῆς Αἰγύπτου
    - Φλαυίου Μάγνου  $\dot{\epsilon}_{\pi}$ [ὶ  $\pi$ ] $\dot{\epsilon}_{\rho}$ ας [ἤ] $\chi$  $\dot{\theta}$ [η]· τὸ χὰρ χραμμάτιον τῆς μεταξὲ γενομένης
    - διαλύτεωτ διελέγχ ε΄ι  $\llbracket v \quad \pi \not\in \rrbracket$  πε΄ πίτθαι ἀμφότερα τὰ μέρα. ὅθεν ἀναχωρήτειτε
- 95 ἐπὶ τοῖς γενομένοις ὑφ' ὑμῶν ςυμφώνοις. περὶ δέ γε οὖ φ[α] `η ΄ςιν ὁ Ἀειθάλης γραμματίου τοῦ χρέους τῶν ταλάντων πεντήκοντα, κατὰ καιρὸν μετελεύςεται τὸν χρεώςτην περὶ τῆς ἐνκ `ε΄ιμένης ὀφεμλῆς.

78-97 These lines have been cancelled by a series of diagonal lines sloping down to the right 80 φλαυΐου 81 αϊθαλης; l. Άειθάλης, Μαςτιτῶν 84 βοκ'κα 89 περιεχει΄΄ 90 l. ἐνωφείλης 91 l. ἄ, ἀποδώς ειν, ὀφειλῆς 93 φλαυΐου 94 l. πεπεῖς θαι, μέρη; ει of ἀναχωρής ειτε corr. from  $\eta$  by a different hand: l. ἀναχωρής ετε 97 αι of μετελεύς εται corr. from  $\epsilon$  by a different hand; ει of ὀφειλῆς corr. or rewritten

	$ [(\Hev{tovc}) \iota\theta f\theta f',] \Phi[a] \mu[\epsilon] \psi \dot{\varphi} \theta \iota \zeta'. \pi \rho \dot{\rho} c \tau \dot{\varphi} \dot{\lambda}[o] \chi i c \tau [\eta \rho i \omega.] \dot{\epsilon}[\pi \iota \pi] a \rho \dot{\rho} v \tau \omega v \\ \dot{\Omega} \rho i \omega v o c \kappa a \dot{\iota} $
	$ \dot{H}\rho[\hat{a}] \ \dot{v}\pi\eta\rho\epsilon\tau\hat{\omega}v \ \kappa\hat{a}\dot{i} \ E\dot{v}\lambda o\gamma iov \ \pi\hat{a}\rho\dot{\epsilon}\delta\rho o[v]. \ \Theta[\dot{\epsilon}\omega v \ \dot{\rho}(\dot{\eta}\tau\omega\rho) \ \epsilon\hat{i}(\pi\epsilon v)\cdot] $
	Ταχῶνειε Ἀμόϊτοε ἀπὸ κ[ώ-]
100	μης 'Ιςίου Παγγᾶ ἐπὶ παρόντι Cύρῳ Λίβυει. πολὺ τὸ παραλλάττον κᾳθ̞έ-
	$c \tau \eta \kappa \epsilon v$ . $\Lambda ίβψ[c] χὰρ ῷν πάροικος [.].[].ιον περιπαις ὼν τῆ ἀπους ία$
	$ au\hat{\eta}[\epsilon]$
	$cυνηγορουμένης ἐπελήλυ[θ]εν [οἰκοπέδω] διαφέροντι αὐτ\hat{\eta} καὶ εἰ μ\hat{\epsilon}ν$
	$\delta \epsilon$ cπότης $\dot{\epsilon}$ ν τούτ $\omega$ $\delta$ ικ $\ldots$ [.] $\ldots$ $\dot{\alpha}$ π $\dot{\alpha}$ καταχραφ $\hat{\omega}$ ν $\ddot{\eta}$ $\dot{\alpha}$ π $[\dot{\alpha}]$
	διαθήκης τοῦ πατρὸς $\pi$ a $\phi$ . [.]. [ c. 17 ]
105	[].[.]. []. [ $c$ . 5 ] $ au o i o \hat{v}  au v$ $\epsilon \pi i \phi \epsilon \rho \epsilon i$
	$\mathring{a}\xi[\imath o\hat{v}ca]$
	αὐτὸν ἀναχωρεῖν τῆς βίας [[ἣν]] `ῆς ΄ καθ' ἡμῶν ἐργάζεται. τούτου γὰρ ἕν̞ε̞-
	κα τῆ ἡγεμονία ἐντετυχήκαμεν, καὶ ἐκδικίας τυχεῖν ἐνταῦθα πάρεςμεν.
	δ λογιστής εἶ(πεν): τί πρὸς ταῦτα λέγει Cύρος; πόθεν διακατέχεις τὸ οἰκό-
	πεδον; $C$ ύρος ἀπεκρ $($ ίνατο $)$ · ἀπὸ διαδοχ $\hat{\eta}$ ς το $\hat{v}$ πατρός. $/$ ό λογιςτ $\hat{\eta}$ ς ε $\hat{t}$ $($ πεν $)$ · τ $\hat{u}$
110	γνωρίτματα της δεςποτίας παραςτήτον. $\dot{C}$ ύρος ἀπεκρ $\dot{C}$ ίνατο $\dot{C}$ ο ἀ $\dot{C}$ ίνατο $\dot{C}$ ο ἀτεκρ $\dot{C}$ ίνατο $\dot{C}$ ίνατο $\dot{C}$ ο ἀτεκρ $\dot{C}$ ίνατο $\dot{C}$
	τίνος εὔχεται. Θέων $\dot{\rho}(\dot{\eta}\tau\omega\rho)$ ε $\hat{l}(\pi\epsilon\nu)$ · $Ta\chi\hat{\omega}\nu$ ς $[\iota]$ ς θυγάτηρ γείνεται $A\mu$ όϊ.
	Άμδις δὲ
	Cύρ $ω$ [.] [.] [.]
	$\epsilon \hat{l}(\pi \epsilon  u) \cdot \mu \acute{\eta} \dot{ au}_i$
	[νες τυνεκλη]ρ[ο]νόμηταν τῆ γυναικί; Ταχῶντις ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)·
	$\dot{a}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\dot{o}\nu$ $\dot{\epsilon}l\chi o\nu$ , $\dot{a}\pi\dot{\epsilon}\theta a\nu\epsilon\nu$ . $\dot{o}\lambda o\nu \iota(c\tau\dot{\eta}c)$ $\dot{\epsilon}l(\pi\epsilon\nu)$ . $\dot{c}\dot{v}$ $\mu\dot{o}\nu\eta$ $\dot{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\eta\rho o\nu\dot{o}$ -
115	μητάς του τὸν πατέρα; ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)· ναί. /ὁ λογι(ττης) εἶ(πεν)· τὸ οἰκόπεδον
	$\tau \circ \hat{v}_{\tau}[\circ]$
	τίνος ἐςτίν, μητρῷον ἢ πατρῷον; Ταχῶνςις ἀπεκρ(ίνατο) · ἀπὸ τοῦ πάππο[υ] ἔςχεν ὁ πατήρ μου, ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐγώ. /ὁ λογι(ςτὴς) εἶ(πεν) · μή τι ὁ
	$\dot{\alpha}$ δελφός ςου
	πέπρακεν περιών; Ταχῶντις ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)· αὐ. Θέων ρ΄(ήτωρ) εἶ(πεν)·
	πεπράκεν περίων, Γαχωνείε απεκρ(ινάτο) αυ. Θεών ρ(ητώρ) εί $(πεν)$ $παραςτης άτω τῆς$
	$\delta_{\epsilon,\epsilon,\tau}[o]$ τίας τὰς ἀποδίξεις ἢ ἀν $[a]$ χωρης $[a]$ τω. Cύρος ἀπεκρ $(i$ νατο $)$ · μετὰ
	$\tau \dot{\eta} v$
	$i\eta \nu$

100 l. Λίβυϊ; παραλατ'τον 101 l. περιπεςών 102 Marginal ink traces may be accidental 110 l. δεςποτείας 111 Unexplained ink traces above ετ of εὔχεται; l. γίνεται 118 l. οὖ 119 l. δεςποτείας, ἀποδείξεις

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120	αὔριον ἐπιφέρω, οὖερεδάριος γὰρ ἐλθὼν ἤγαγέν με ἀπὸ ἀλεξαν-	
	$δρε[i]ας. / δ λογιςτης ε\bar{t}(πεν)· Λίβυς δὲ τ\hat{ω} γένει ε\bar{t}; ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)· ναί. / δ$	
	$\lambda o \gamma (\iota \epsilon \tau \dot{\eta} \epsilon) \; \epsilon \hat{t} (\pi \epsilon  u)$	
	καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ ξένος εἶναι τῆς πολιτίας καὶ μέμνημαι ὡς	
	τῆς γυναικὸς κέλευςιν ἐπενε[γ]κούςης τῆ ἐμῆ μετριότητι τοῦ	
	κυρίου μου τοῦ διακοςμήςαντος τὸν θρόνον τῆς ἡγεμονίας ζ[α]β[ιν]ιανο[ῦ]	
125	.[.][].[ c. 15 ] κελεύειν προ[].ςι	
3	[][.] $\epsilon \pi \epsilon i \tau \circ i \nu \nu \nu \nu $ [.].[] $\epsilon \eta \mu \epsilon \rho \sigma \nu \epsilon \pi i \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \delta \pi \nu $ [ $\omega \nu$ ]	
	παρακεκομίςθαι αὐτῷ τὰ βιβλία καὶ μετὰ τὴν αὔριον ἐποίςιν	
	τὰς ἀποδίξεις, δύναται [] κων δεςπόζειν κατὰ τὰ	
	ένκίμενα μέρη. εἰ δὲ μὴ περιποιῆ, ἀλλότρειός ἐςτιν	
130	τοῦ οἰκοπέδου τοῦ ἐλθόντος εἰς τὸ γύναιον ἀπὸ κληρονομί[ας]	
130	$[.], [ c. 12 ], [] \beta [ c. 9 ] \nu.$	
	ύπατείας Πρόκλου καὶ Παυλίνου τῶν λαμπροτάτων.	
	$\{\dot{v}\pi a \tau \epsilon i a c\}$	
	$(\tilde{\epsilon}\tau o v c)$ $\iota \theta f \theta f', \Phi a \mu \epsilon v \dot{\omega} \theta \kappa a'. \dot{\epsilon}v \tau \dot{\omega} A \delta \rho \iota a v \iota \dot{\omega}. \dot{\epsilon}n \dot{\epsilon} n a \rho \dot{\epsilon}v \tau \omega v$	
	$B\epsilon ho\epsilon u[\iota] ki[lpha] u[o]\hat{v}eta[o]\eta\dot{ heta}(o\hat{v})$	
135	καὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ καὶ 'Ωρίωνος καὶ Άμμωνα καὶ 'Ιςχυρίωνος Ανουβίωνος	
	τῶν τεςςάρων εφραγιετῶν καὶ Διογένους ταβελλίωνος καὶ 'Ωρ[ί]ωνος	
	ύπηρέτου. Διογένης ταβελλίων εἶ $(\pi \epsilon v)$ · $T$ ανεχ $[\hat{\omega}]$ ντις ἐπινόςως ἔχ $[\omega v]$	
	`[ov]ça'	
	μετεκαλέςατό με καὶ ἠξίωςεν γραφῆναι αὐτῆ [[τὸ]] β[ο]υλημάτιον τῆς	
	$[[]$ . $\dot{q}$ $\dot{v}$ $\dot{r}$ $\hat{\eta}$ $c$ $[[]$ $\dot{r}$ $r$	
140	[] $[.]$ τοῦ βίου ἀπέλθοι $[]$ πρὸς λύτιν. ἐπεὶ	
	auοίνυν $ au$ ε-	
	(τε)λεύτηκεν, τήμερον ἐπιφέρεται τὸ βουλημάτιον τῆ τῆ ἐμμελεία πρὸς	
	$\lambda \dot{v}$ ειν. $\dot{\phi}$ λογιετής $\epsilon \dot{t}(\pi \epsilon v)$ · $\dot{c}$ είν, $\dot{H}$ ρακλ $\dot{a}$ , ένε $[\chi \epsilon$ ιρί $]$ $\dot{c}$ θης το γραμματιον	
	ἐπενέγκαι	
	$[\pi \rho \dot{o} c \ \lambda \dot{v} c \iota v; \ \dot{a} \pi \epsilon \kappa \rho (\dot{\iota} v a \tau o) \cdot v a \dot{\iota}. \ / \dot{o} \ \lambda \dot{o} [\gamma \iota c] \tau \dot{\eta} \dot{c} \ \mathcal{A} \iota \dot{o} \gamma \dot{\epsilon} v \iota \ \epsilon \dot{i} (\pi \epsilon v) \cdot \kappa a \tau \dot{a} \ \gamma v \dot{\omega} \mu \eta v$	
	$ au\hat{\eta}\epsilon\ Tav\epsilon$	
	χώντιδο`ς' ςυνεςτήςω τὸ γραμμάτιον; ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)· ναί. /ὁ λογιςτής	
	$\epsilon \hat{\iota}(\pi \epsilon  u) \cdot  au'_{-}$	
* 0	ο l. μοι 121 Simply λογ seemingly 122 l. πολιτείας 127 l. ἐποίςειν 128 l.	
$\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}$		
from $A$ $\Delta \iota \circ \gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon$	μμώνος 139 After αψτής occasional traces survive on loose and tanged notes 143 in	
20700		

145	$\int_{0}^{1} v\omega v = \pi \alpha \rho \delta v \tau \omega v;  d \pi \epsilon \kappa \rho (i v \alpha \tau \sigma) \cdot \tau \hat{\omega} v = c \phi \rho \alpha \gamma i c \tau \hat{\omega} v.  /\delta = \lambda \sigma \gamma i (c \tau \dot{\eta} c) = \epsilon i (\pi \epsilon v) \cdot \pi \delta c \sigma i \epsilon i c [i]$
	$\gamma[\rho]a[\psi \acute{a}\tau \omega c a v \ o i] \ \tau \acute{\epsilon} \varsigma[ca]\rho[\epsilon]\varsigma \ \acute{\epsilon}[\pi \epsilon \gamma v \omega] \kappa \acute{\epsilon} v a \iota \ \acute{\epsilon}[a] v \tau \mathring{\omega} v \ \tau \mathring{\alpha} \varsigma \ \varsigma \phi \rho a \gamma \imath \delta \mathring{\alpha} \varsigma.$
	$[\ ]$ παρόντ $[\omega v]$ $c\phi$ ραγιςτών ὑποςημιωςαμένων ἐπεγνωκέναι
150	$[\dot{\epsilon}a\dot{\nu}\tau\hat{\omega}\nu\ \tau\hat{\alpha}c\ c\phi\rho\alpha\gamma\hat{\imath}\delta\alpha c,\ /\delta\ \lambda o\gamma\iota(c\tau\hat{\eta}c)\ \epsilon\hat{\imath}(\pi\epsilon\nu)\cdot\lambda \upsilon\theta\hat{\eta}\tau\omega\ \tau\hat{\delta}\ \gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\hat{\alpha}\tau\iota o\nu$
150	κ[αὶ] ἀναγνωεθήτω, καὶ γραμματίου Τανεχῶντι`δ΄ος ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτόθι λυθέντος `καὶ ἀναγνωεθέντος΄ κενοονικμένου, εἰς `τὰ[ν] Γαὐτὰν]
	$\begin{bmatrix} a \dot{v} \dot{v} \dot{v} \dot{v} \dot{v} \dot{v} \dot{v} \dot{v}$
	$\mu$ ετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωτιν $\delta$ λογι $(\epsilon \tau \dot{\eta} \epsilon)$ $[\epsilon] \hat{t}(\pi \epsilon \nu)$ · τὸ $[\mu] \dot{\epsilon} \nu$ $\epsilon \hat{\omega} \mu \alpha$ $\tau \hat{\eta} \epsilon$
	κ[ατο]ιχομένης τῆ ὁςία παραδοθής εται: οἱ δὲ ἐννισνομινένοι κλποριόνοι φορν
155	
(ἔτι	ους) ιθ $\int \theta f'$ , $\Phi$ αμενὼθ κ $\beta'$ . πρὸς τῷ $K$ απιτωλίῳ. ἐπὶ παρόντων $\Omega$ ρίωνος ὑπηρέτου καὶ $E$ ὐλογίου παρέδρου, $\Lambda$ μμώνιος ἡ $(\acute{\eta}\tau\omega\rho)$ ε $\idelta$ (πεν)·
	ό καὶ Ἰτχυρίων βουλευτὴς τ̞ῆ[τ ε. 7] πρρίξεως ἐπὶ παρούτῃ [] Θαήτει Ἡρακλᾶτος ἀπὸ τῆτδε τῆτ $\{\delta \epsilon \tau \eta \epsilon\}$ πρρίξεως. ὑπάρχει τῷ βοηθουμένω
160	οἰκία ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἡν ον Ἑρμείας γεωμέτρης
	υίὸς Παπιρίωνος καὶ ο
	[ $c. 7$ ] $ον$ $δπο$ $cημάντροις ποιήςας$
	$α$ ψ- $τ$ $\mathring{η}$ ν [.]
	ἀξιοῦντες καὶ τὰ cήμαντρα $\llbracket \lambda v \theta \hat{\eta} v \alpha \iota \rrbracket$ `ἀ $\phi \alpha \iota \rho \epsilon \theta \hat{\eta} v \alpha \iota '$ . προνοί $ \varphi $ τ $\hat{\eta} c $ c $\hat{\eta} c$
-6-	έμμελείας προς-
165	τέτακται τοῦτο γείνεςθαι, καὶ ἀξιοῦμεν ἐπείπερ ἀπολίπεται cήμερον ἐν κυρίᾳ ὁ Ἑρμείας τῆς μητρὸς παρούςης ὅτι δὴ μάλιςτα καὶ παῖς
	ύποχίριός έςτιν τὸ πρό[ς]ταγμα ἐπὶ πέρας ἀχθ[η̂]ναι. /ὁ λογιςτης εἶ(πεν).
	π-1-1-3-7/1-3-1-3 π-1-3

148 l. ὖποςημειωςαμένων 161 αλλ· rather than ἀλλά? 167 l. ὑποχείριος

151  $\phi$  of  $\Phi$ αμενώθ corr. 153 l. ἐγγεγραμμένοι 164 cήμαντρα:  $\tau$  rewritten above the line 165 l. γίνες θαι, ἀπολείπεται

	τί λέγει Θαῆςις; $\pi[o]\hat{v}$ Έρμείας ὁ ς $[o]$ υἰός; ἀπεκρ $(iva\tau o)$ · εἰς "Οαςιν $\mathring{a}[\pi]\hat{\eta}\lambda\theta\epsilon\nu$
	ἀπεκηρύξα `μεν΄ αὐτόν· οὐκ ἔχω πρᾶγμα πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲ ὁ πατὴρ
	αὐτοῦ προ $\delta$ []των [ἀπ] $\epsilon$ π $\epsilon$ μψά[.] `[μ] $\epsilon$ θα΄ αὐτὸν παρὰ τ $\hat{\eta}$
170	ήγεμονία
	[ $c. 22$ $\delta \lambda o \gamma \iota (c \tau \dot{\eta} c) \epsilon \dot{\iota} (\pi \epsilon \nu) \cdot o \dot{\iota} \nu \dot{\sigma} \mu o \iota \kappa \epsilon \dot{\lambda} \epsilon \dot{\nu}$
	$[ου cιν]$ ον $\mathring{a}ποχα$ , $[c. 5]$ , $λιων$ . $\mathring{\epsilon}πεὶ$ οὖν
	[ c. 6 ][.] ἡχεμονικὴν περὶ τοῦ ἔχειν
	τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ [ ε. 7 ] εἰ κατὰ ἐνοίκητιν
175	$E_{\rho\mu\epsilon}$ ίας ηξίως $\epsilon$ ν δ $\epsilon$ εξαρ $\epsilon$ ι [ $\epsilon$ . 7 ] $\tau$ ο $\epsilon$ υς τόπους $\epsilon$ ι΄ $\epsilon$ κταγης $\epsilon$ τ $\epsilon$ ι]
	$[\ ]$ ου τόπους $X$ αιρήμ $\llbracket ων  rbracket$ `ονα '.
	$A\mu\mu[\acute{\omega}v\iota\sigma]$ ç $\acute{\rho}(\acute{\eta}\tau\omega\rho)$ $\epsilon i(\pi\epsilon\nu)$ $\acute{a}\xi\iota\dot{\rho}[\hat{v}]\mu\dot{\epsilon}\dot{v}$ [.][.][ c. 8 ] $\dot{v}$
	δημοει, [ 0-5 ]
	$[ c. 14 ] \dots \rho. [ c. 15 ]$
180	$/\delta$ λογι $(c au\dot{\eta}c)$ $\epsilon \tilde{t}(\pi\epsilon v)$ · $\dot{\epsilon}v$ $ au\dot{\eta}$ αὔριον γενή $c\epsilon au$ αι $\ddot{0}$ $\dot{\eta}$ ξιώ $ca au\epsilon$ .
	(ἔτους) ιθς΄ θς΄, Φαμενὼθ ιθ. πρὸς τῷ γυμναςίῳ. ἐπὶ παρόντων
	Καπιτωλίνου ἄρξαντος τῶν αὐτόθι καὶ Çαραπίωνος Ἑρμείου καὶ
	'Ιςίωνος 'Ηρᾶτος καὶ Άμοϊτᾶ ζιλβανοῦ καὶ 'Ωρίωνος 'Ωρίωνος τῶν δ΄
	τειωνός πράτος και πρότια επιράνου και Ευλογίου παρέδρου', Ποιμένιος
	εφραγιετών και 32ριωνός υπηρέτου και 120λογιού παρέορου, 1.10 μετου
	$\dot{\rho}(\dot{\eta}\tau\omega\rho)$ $\epsilon \hat{i}(\pi\epsilon\nu)$ · $\tau\dot{\eta}\nu$ κοιν $\dot{\eta}\nu$ `καὶ $\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\mu\dot{\epsilon}\nu\eta\nu$ ΄ $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\dot{\iota}$
185	πάντων ὑπὸ της[ c. 15]του βίου ὑπεςτη[.]
	[] $\eta c \epsilon \omega c \tau \hat{\eta} c \dot{\epsilon} \alpha v$
	$[το]\hat{v}$ γνώμης $\dot{η}$
	αἰδεςιμωτα-
	τον Καπιτωλίνον βουλευτήν τήςδε τής πολιτίας ένεχίριςεν έντο-
	λὰς παραςχ[ό]μενος [μ. ] εἰ τοῦ βίου ἀπέλθοι ἐπενεγκεῖν τῆ τῆ
	έντρεχία κατὰ τὸ ἔθος πρὸς τὸ λυθηναι καὶ γνωςθηναι τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ
190	εντρεχία κατά το ευθε προς το λολήναι και γναστημανία του έκνου
	γεγραμμένα. τούτου ένεκα ένταῦθα ἀπήντης εν τὴν ἐκίνου
	γνώμην ἀποπληρῶν καὶ ἀξιοῖ τὴν λύειν τοῦ βουλήματος κατὰ
	νόμους γενέςθαι.  ὁ λογιςτὴς εξί(πεν)· τί λέχει ὁ παρών Καπιτωλίνος;
	coὶ παρέθετο ὁ ἀναπαψςάμενος τὸ γραμμάτιον τοῦτο; ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)· ναί.
I	76 l. ἐάcει 188 l. πολιτείας, ἐνεχείρισεν 189 Unexplained high traces above and to right 190 l. ἐντρεχεία 191 l. ἐκείνου
or dele	enon, and above final corpreceding from

195	[ $c.40$ ] $\epsilon \pi \tau \dot{a} \mu \epsilon \nu \epsilon i c \iota$
	[ c. 13 ] κυρια. /δ λογιττής $\epsilon \hat{t}(\pi \epsilon \nu)$
	[τίς ἐςτιν ὁ ςυςτη]ςάμενος ταβελλίων; Ποιμ[ένιος ρ̂(ήτωρ)] εἶ(πεν)· ἐγώ.
	$/\delta$ λογις $[\tau\dot{\eta}$ ς $\epsilon\hat{\iota}(\pi\epsilon u)\cdot ilde{\epsilon}$ κας- $]$
	$ au[o]$ ς τῶν παρόντων εφραγιετῶν ὑπογρα $\psi[lpha]$ τ $[\omega ἐπ]$ ε $[$ γνωκέναι ἑ $av$ - $]$
	τοῦ τὰ γράμματα καὶ τὴν cφραγίδα. καὶ τῷν πạρ[ό]ν̞τ[ων cφραγιcτῶν]
200	ύποςημιωςαμένων ἐπεγνωκέναι ἑαυτῷν [τὰς εφραγίδας,]
	/ὁ λογιςτὴς εἶ(πεν)· λυθήτω καὶ ἀνα[γνωςθήτω τὸ γ]ρ̞αμμάτιον.
	καὶ ἀναγνωςθέντος γραμματίου φ[].[] Βηςαρίωνος οὐετρανοῦ
	καταμένοντος έν τῆδε τῆ πόλει [κεχρονις]μένου εἰς ὑπατείαν τῶν
	$\delta\epsilon\epsilon\pi[o]$ τῶν ἡμῶν $K$ ρίς $\pi[ov]$ κ $[aὶ Kωνεταντίνο]$ υ τῶν ἐπιφανεετάτων
205	$[Kaιcάρων τὸ γ', month and day, \Pi o]ι[μ]ένιος \dot{\rho}(\dot{\eta}\tau\omega\rho) ε\dot{i}(\pi\epsilon\nu)· ἀναγνω[\epsilon-]$
	θήτω καὶ ταν[ c. 5 ].[].[]. τὸ γενόμενον ὑπὸ
	[.].[], $[]$ χρεων ἀπο $[.]$ , $[$ , ἀξιοῦμεν δὲ τὰ
	ἀντίγραφα [δ]ιδόντες λαβεῖν τὸ αὐθεντικὸν πρὸς ἀςφάλιαν
	τῶν κληρονόμων. /ὁ λογιςτὴ $[\epsilon \; \epsilon \hat{i}(\pi \epsilon  u) \cdot]$ τὸ μὲν $\epsilon \hat{\omega} \mu[a]$ τοῦ κατοιχομένου
210	τῆ ὁςίᾳ παραδοθήςεται· ἀνεγνώςθη δὲ παρὰ τῆ ἐμῆ μετριότητι τὸ
	γραμμάτιον τὸ γενόμενον ὑπὸ Βηςαρίωνος οὐετρανοῦ καὶ δύνανται
	οἱ κληρονόμοι διδόναι . [, . ] ι τὰ ἴδια τοῦ βουλήματος πρὸς κληρο-
	[].[].[].[ πρὸς ἀςφάλιαν
	][]. υρος ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)· [ vac.?]
215	][
	] . α καταγραφῆναι
	] $/\delta$ λογι $\epsilon$ τ $\dot{\eta}$ $\epsilon$ $\epsilon i (\pi \epsilon  u)$
	]ιακαρ[ ]ςιν./ὁ λογιςτ $\mathring{\eta}$ [ς $\epsilon \hat{i}$ ( $\pi \epsilon \nu$ ) $\cdot$ ]
	] $\dots$ [] $\dots$ [
	] (vac.)
220	][

200 l. ὑποτημειωταμένων 208 l. ἀτφάλειαν; ατφαλ ΄ ε΄ ιαν? 210 High spot of ink before ἀνεγνώς θη, perhaps accidental letter after  $\rho$ ? 212 ϊδια 213 l. ἀτφάλειαν 219 Possibly a further

222 παγ'γα 224  $\epsilon \lambda \epsilon \gamma' \chi ο \nu$  226 l. (-) $\phi \nu \lambda \alpha \kappa \epsilon' (οις?$ 

'Minutes for the month of Phamenoth of the year 19 and 9, before Dioscurides, curator, for filing.

'[Date, place.] In the presence of . . . leading citizen(s) and Tiro son of Heracleides and the majority of the demotae, through Sarapion son of Taus. . . and Parammon and Ammon and Ammonius and others. The curator said, "In the beginning you were given orders by Sabinianus who then adorned the throne of the praesidiate that either the landowners or the councillors should collect a sum of money from the pagani; you collected as you were instructed. But now I have received a letter from the Nobility of my lord Flavius Magnus, vir perfectissimus, prefect of Egypt, . . . in full to the last penny. Since, then, I summoned you (as) the original purchasers of the tunics named and sent by the said former praeses Sabinianus to the end that the demotae may get the money decreed for them by the Virtue of my aforesaid lord Flavius Magnus, vir perfectissimus, prefect of Egypt, I urge you to give them the money, and if the councillors or landowners are willing to buy the tunics which you said you had brought, in accordance with the instructions from superior authority, they may sell them for what price they wish." Leucadius answered, "My lord Sabinianus, vir perfectissimus, former praeses, ordered us to go to Tyre and carry out the compulsory purchase of the paragaudae and I sent the assistant in place of myself and he has effected the purchase at a price per tunic of 65,000 den. excluding expenses, and the tunics were brought and they are here, and if you want (me) to bring them to you and to distribute them to whom you wish, just say; all I want is a guarantee . . . " The curator said, "The pagani are not taking the tunics since they were not ordered to take them, but the money which they gave unwillingly. If, then, you have collected the tunics, you can pass them on to your fellow councillors who were ordered to buy them or to the landowners, and give the money to the pagani; do so." Leucadius, prytanis, said, "I have nothing to do with the pagani. The paragaudae were collected; take them, give me a guarantee and give them to whom you want." The curator said, ". . . to give (it) back to the last penny." Leucadius, prytanis, said, "You take the tunics and sell them or do what you like; just give me a guarantee. I have done my duty." The curator said, "How many tunics did you collect with the 7,000 talents from the demotae?" Leucadius, prytanis, said, "Altogether 150 tunics were collected, at 65,000 den. per tunic plus 5,000 den. for expenses. I give you the figures per unit as ordered by my lord Sabinianus, vir perfectissimus, former praeses." The curator said, "... or give the tunics to whom you want for what price you want; it is absolutely necessary, in accordance with the order of my lord Flavius Magnus, vir perfectissimus, prefect of Egypt, that the demotae get back their own money to the last penny.""

(39-77) 'Year 19 and 9, Phamenoth 7. In the consulship of Proculus and Paulinus. [Location, in the presence of . . .]phanes, assessor. Theon, advocate, said, "(My client is) Sarapion son of Aphynchius, against his wife Helen, who is present. My client used the petitionary procedure, pleading before the then office of praeses, to all appearances because he observed his wife was being defrauded, but in reality he regarded these objects which had been transferred by him to his wife as his own property and so with all the pressure he could muster he employed the same petition to obtain satisfaction." While he continued speaking, the curator said, "It was superfluous for him to petition the praeses. Since the law is clear that the local judges are to hear such(?) cases, I accord a hearing to the affair and will listen to the suit." Theon, advocate, said, "The wife has come

forward, [contradicting?] what has been said and is being said by her husband. He, then, on getting hold of his own children's gold jewellery, deposited it with his own wife. As though for greater security the girl deposited these goods with my client's mother. She, acting well, when . . . making up a will wished all the objects to be restored to the girl." While he continued speaking, the curator said, "Does the will proclaim it to be a deposit, and that it must be restored to the girl, or not?" Theon, advocate, said, "It does so, and I will read it." The curator said, "Read it." It was read; after the reading, the curator said, "Who brought the will to the curator's office for opening?" Theon, advocate, said, "We did, and Demeas raised no objections there. But when it seemed that time was running on and that the woman who held the objects—Tapatrinis, who is present—was delaying, because of this we were forced to . . . the office of the praeses . . . let there be no . . . before judgement, but let the gold be given back to the girl in accordance with the wish of my client's mother." Demeas answered, "I gave it to her." Theon, advocate, said, "The girl has come forward, and so has she who has the gold. Nothing further remains than for Your Sagacity, annoyed that someone dares to act in defiance of an actual will, to declare that the woman holding (the objects) must return them to us; for Your Grace observes that the young woman has become (entitled to act?) by the ius liberorum." Ammonius, advocate, said, "Permit me to speak." Theon, advocate, said, "I object . . . " Ammonius, advocate, said, "I speak against the charge." Theon, advocate, said, "He is talking rubbish; let him say who gave him instructions." The curator said, "In what capacity do you speak in opposition?" Ammonius, advocate, said, "I speak in opposition as the father of the girl who is present, and because the instructions of Alexandra were carried out." The curator said, "How long ago did Alexandra die?" Demeas answered, "Three years ago." Ammonius, advocate, said, "Let the dispositions of the will be valid." While he continued speaking, the curator said, "Whether the objects are with the father or with the husband or with Tapatrine here present, it will be necessary in accordance with the will . . . If she wishes of her own volition to give them to her husband, she has the right, [since?] she has become mother of three(?) children to her husband, of the absolute enjoyment as her own property of the things bequeathed her by her deceased mother-in-law.""

(78-97) 'Year 19 and 9, Phamenoth 17. At the Capitolium, in the presence of Horion and Heras, assistants, and Eulogius, assessor. The curator said, "An order of my lord the prefect of Egypt, Flavius Magnus, vir perfectissimus, has been brought before my humble self by Aeithales from the territory of the Mastitae, concerning property belonging to the child Isis, who is in his guardianship, which is being detained by Philammon, here present, and his brothers, heirs of Boccas. So, keeping in my heart the fear of the Nobility of so great an official, I have communicated his orders to the parties in the case, and I have also brought them in so that we may know what mutual arrangements they have come to." Philammon answered, "We made an agreement, and I have a document about this." The curator said, "Let it be read." And it was read as follows. After the reading, Aeithales answered, "Out of this property he owed me fifty talents in money, which he wrote to me that he would repay within the appointed time, and I have the document attesting the debt." The curator said, "The order of my lord the prefect of Egypt, Flavius Magnus, vir perfectissimus, has been carried out; the document of discharge between you shows both sides to be in agreement. Wherefore you will depart, abiding by the conditions of the agreements made between you. As regards the document which Aeithales mentions concerning the debt of fifty talents, at the proper time he is to sue the debtor regarding the obligation contained therein."

(98-131) 'Year 19 and 9, Phamenoth 17. At the accounts-office. In the presence of Horion and Heras, assistants, and Eulogius, assessor. Theon, advocate, said, "(My client is) Tachonsis daughter of Amois from the village of Ision Panga, against Syrus, a Libyan, who is present. Great is the aberration that has occurred. For being a Libyan immigrant . . . chancing on the absence of my client, he has occupied a piece of property belonging to her, and if (he is confirmed?) in control of it . . . from registrations of cession or from her father's will . . . requesting(?) that he desist from the forceful behaviour he uses against us. Because of this we petitioned the office of the *praeses* and we are present here to obtain satisfaction." The *curator* said, "What does Syrus say to this? On what grounds do you occupy the property?" Syrus answered, "In succession to her(?) father." The *curator* said, "Produce the evidence to justify your control. Syrus answered, "Let her say from whom she claims (control)." Theon, advocate, said, "Tachonsis is the daughter of Amois. Amois . . . Syrus . . ." The *curator* said, "[? No one else] inherited along with the woman?" Tachonsis answered, "I used to have a brother, but he died." The *curator* said, "Did you alone inherit from your father?" She answered, "Yes." The *curator* said, "Whose was this property, your mother's or your father's?" Tachonsis answered, "My father had it from my grandfather, and I from my father." The *curator* said, "Your brother sold nothing while he was still alive?"

Tachonsis answered, "No." Theon, advocate, said, "Let him produce the proofs to justify his control or let him withdraw." Syrus answered, "The day after tomorrow I will produce them, for a courier came and brought them to me from Alexandria." The *curator* said, "You are Libyan by race?" He answered, "Yes." The *curator* said, "He admits himself that he is foreign to this community; and I recall how when the woman presented my humble self with the order of my lord Sabinianus, who then adorned the throne of the praesidiate . . . Since therefore [he declares(?)] that today the documents have been conveyed to him locally and that the day after tomorrow he will bring the proofs, he can control . . . in respect of the specified sections. If he does not procure (them), he is to have nothing to do with the property coming to the woman by inheritance . . . ""

(132-3) 'In the consulship of Proculus and Paulinus, viri clarissimi. In the consulship (vac.)'

(134-55) 'Year 19 and 9, Phamenoth 21. In the temple of Hadrian, in the presence of Berenicianus, aide, and Theodorus alias Horion and Ammonas and Ischyrion son of Anubion, the four of them signatories, and Diogenes, notary, and Horion, assistant. Diogenes, notary, said, "Tanechontis, falling ill, summoned me and requested a will to be written for her . . . Heraclas, keeper of the records . . . in the case of her death, with its presentation(?) for opening. Since therefore she has died, today the will is presented to Your Grace for opening." The curator said, "You, Heraclas, were entrusted with presenting the document for opening?" He answered, "Yes." The curator said to Diogenes, "Did you make out the document in accordance with the wishes of Tanechontis?" He answered, "Yes." The curator said, "In the presence of whom?" He answered, "The signatories." The curator said, "How many signatories are there?" Diogenes said, "Seven, and four are present." The curator said, "Let the four subscribe that they have recognized their own seals." When the signatories who were present had subscribed that they had recognized their own seals, the curator said, "Let the document be opened and read." And the document of Tanechontis, of local origin, being opened and read, dated to the current consulship, Phamenoth 20, after the reading the curator said, "The body of the deceased will be handed over for burial; the inscribed heirs will see to it that they provide copies of the will when they obtain the original . . . "."

(156-80) 'Year 19 and 9, Phamenoth 22. At the Capitolium, in the presence of Horion, assistant, and Eulogius, assessor. Ammonius, advocate, said, "(My client is) Chaeremon alias Ischyrion, councillor of the city of . . . , against Thaesis daughter of Heraclas, from this city, who is present. There belongs to my client a house in the same city which Hermias, surveyor, son of Papirion . . . But he crossed over to the Oasis . . . putting it under seals . . . requesting possession of the property and that the seals should be removed. By Your Grace's forethought it has been commanded that this should happen, and since today Hermias is absent on the appointed day but he is very much a boy under his mother's control and she is present we request that your instruction be put into effect." The curator said, "What does Thaesis say? Where is your son Hermias?" She answered, "He went off to the Oasis. We renounced him; I have nothing to do with him, nor did his father . . . we repudiated him before the court of the praeses . . . "The curator said, "The laws order . . . Since therefore [Chaeremon has obtained a decision of?] the praeses concerning the possession of his own house, and . . . ." Ammonius, advocate, said, "We request . . ." The curator said, "Tomorrow it shall be as you have requested."

(181-213) 'Year 19 and 9, Phamenoth 19. At the gymnasium, in the presence of Capitolinus, local former magistrate, and Sarapion son of Hermias and Ision son of Heras and Amoitas son of Silvanus and Horion son of Horion, the four of them signatories, and Horion, assistant, and Eulogius, assessor. Poemenius, advocate, said, "The common . . . ordained for all . . . his own wish . . . and summoning the most-respected Capitolinus, councillor of this community, he provided him with his instructions, entrusting him in the case of his death with their presentation to Your Experience as is customary so that what was written therein might be opened and read. For this reason he has presented himself here in fulfilment of (Besarion's) wish and requests that the opening of the will should take place in accordance with the laws." The curator said, "What does Capitolinus, here present, say? Did the deceased deposit this document with you?" He answered, "Yes." [The curator said, "How many are the signatories?" He answered,] "They are seven, . . . "The curator said, "Who is the notary who drew up the will?" Poemenius, advocate, said, "I am." The curator said, "Let each of the signatories here present subscribe that he has recognized his own script and seal." When the signatories present had subscribed that they had recognized their own seals, the curator said, "Let the document be opened and read." After the reading of the document of . . . Besarion, veteran resident in this city, dated to the consulship of our masters Crispus and Constantinus the most noble Caesars for the 3rd time, [month and day], Poemenius, advocate, said, "Let there be read also the . . . and we beg to obtain the original, subject to our providing copies, for the security of the heirs." The *curator* said, "The body of the deceased will be handed over for burial. The document made by Besarion, veteran, has been read in the presence of my humble self, and the heirs may give . . . "."

- I The writing is at the right-hand edge, upside-down in comparison with 2-4, and washed out except for the first letter. Was  $\lambda o \gamma \iota c \tau o \hat{v}$  intended? The form of the initial (undeleted) letter resembles  $\lambda$  of  $\lambda o \gamma \iota c \tau o \hat{v}$  in 4.
- 2 The line is in the same hand as 3-4 but written much smaller,  $\mu\eta(\nu\delta\epsilon)$  transcribed by analogy with 3. Thereafter only scanty ink traces, and the reduced scale makes estimating the number of letters difficult. It is not clear how far the writer went; the right half of the line is blank, and if this were an abandoned title he might have stopped at an otherwise irrational point. There is no obvious reason why the title should have been written twice otherwise.
- 3-4 Cf. 3759 42. There is no day of the month in that instance. After  $\phi$  in 3, the rest of  $\Phi_{\alpha\mu\epsilon}[\nu]\dot{\phi}\theta$  is very uncertain indeed.

4 The line begins below  $\epsilon \pi i$  in 3.

5 Traces of the first half of the line are extremely scanty, and indicated numbers of letters present or absent are little more than conjecture. We expect year-sign, year-numbers (19 and 9, cf. l. 39 etc.), month (Phamenoth, cf. 3), and a day-number (7 (cf. l. 39) or lower(?)), and location (locations elsewhere are  $\tilde{\epsilon}\nu$   $T\hat{\omega}$   $\Delta\delta\rho_{i}a\nu i\omega$  (134),  $\pi\rho\delta c$   $\tau\hat{\omega}$   $Ka\pi_{i}\tau\omega\lambda i\omega$  (78, 156),  $\lambda o\nu_{i}c\tau\eta\rho i\omega$  (98), and  $\nu \nu_{\mu}\nu aci\omega$  (181)); but I cannot claim to recognize any of this here.

 $\epsilon \pi i \pi a \rho \delta \nu \tau \omega \nu$ . This formula occurs several times in this text (78, 98, 134, 156, and 181); also in **3757** 3, **3759** 1, and **3767** 1. See 156-8n. below.

The second half of the line will have contained names and possibly titles; damage is such that scarcely any letters can be certainly identified.

αρχο. Cf. XXII 2346 23 ἀρχοντικών? Note δημοτών there which occurs in the next line here.

6 προπολ(ιτευομένων) (or -ov?). See A. K. Bowman, The Town Councils of Roman Egypt, esp. 155–8; a different view of πολιτευόμενοι is given by H. Geremek, Anag. 1 (1981) 231–47. See too LI **3627** 1 n.

 $\delta\eta\mu o\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$ . The same group are elsewhere described as  $\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\nu oi$  (9, 11, etc.); compare especially 13 and 38 ( $\delta\eta\mu \dot{o}\tau\alpha c$ ) with 25 ( $\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\nu oi$ ). The words here appear to be used interchangeably to describe those with no official positions, in effect the lower classes. The interchangeability excludes any sense of town-dwellers contrasted with country-dwellers (XXII **2346** 23 n.). For  $\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\nu oi$  see further ZPE 62 (1986) 66 7.

The feminine Tavc-, if right, is unexpected.

8 Sabinianus was already known as *praeses Mercurianae* (for this, and not *Herculia*, as his area of authority see J. D. Thomas, *BASP* 21 (1984) 225–34), see J. Lallemand, *L'Administration civile* 256. To the references there given add XLV 3261, which provides our latest date for him in office (AD 324). He is out of office by the date of the present hearing (late February–early March 325) and the text does not indicate the interval that has elapsed since he was in office.

κτήτορας. Lat. possessores. See A. Segré, Traditio 5 (1947) 113-14; A. C. Johnson and L. C. West, Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies 13-16.

9 mayavovc. Cf. 6 n.; G. H. R. Horsley, New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity i no. 44.

 $\dot{q}$ πητήςqτε [κ]q[ $\theta$ ] $\dot{q}$ ε. The reading is suspect.  $\epsilon$  is the difficult letter: traces are attributed to it (as an extended centre bar) which if attributed to the word following would mean that the space and traces would be too extensive for  $\kappa a\theta \dot{\omega} \epsilon$ .

10 ἀνδρείας. See 3757 qn.

11 A crease (where the roll was flattened) has caused severe damage to the first half of this line. Traces are visible almost all the way along but no letters are certain and what is transcribed is very conjectural. ἀποκαταςταθήναι may be a possibility.

μέχρι ἀςταρίου ένός. Again in 30 and 38. Cf. 3756 12 n.

12 cυνωνητάς. For cυνωνή (coemptio) see J.-M. Carrié, Proc. XVI Congr. Papyrology (1981) 432-3.

cτιχαρίων. For vestis militaris see Carrié, op. cit. 434 5; also XLVIII 3424 2 n., 9 n. Carrié's interpretation of the system is in large part supported by 3758. For prices see 21 n. below.

- 14  $d\rho\epsilon\tau\hat{\eta}c$ . Later the use of this honorific becomes more diffuse, but in the late third and fourth centuries its application is confined to the prefect, *praeses*, *rationalis* (IX **1204** 4; P. Harr. 160. 8 (see ZPE 37 (1980) 237)), and *dux* (VIII **1103** 4).
  - 18 Another crease has damaged the middle of this line, cf. 11n. Leucadius is a previously unrecorded

prytanis of Oxyrhynchus, cf. 28, 30, 33. He can scarcely be identical with the Leucadius active in P. Mert. 36, AD 360. Flavius Leucadius (almost certainly Dioscurides' successor) is attested as logistes from July/Aug. 325 (I 52; see Appendix I below), so that suggesting prytanis and logistes were the same man would require a change of prytanis during the year of office (324/5); there is no evidence of compatibility of tenure of the two offices. Leucadius' words are introduced differently from elsewhere in this text (28, 30, 33): damage is severe, but crossed rho of  $\frac{\partial \pi_{\xi}}{\partial x} = \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{$ 

20 παραγαύδια (cf. 29) are here obviously equated with cτιχάρια. The association of paragaudae with purple (R. Macmullen, Aeg. 38 (1958) 187; P. J. Sijpesteijn, ZPE 21 (1976) 177-8) fits well with their Tyrian provenance here (see 19). For paragaudae see also Aeg. 43 (1963) 4-5 (this text republished as P. Med. II 46). For the use of purple garments note M. Reinhold, History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity (Coll. Latomus 116).

21 Cf. 32-4. The 'expenses' are given in 34 as 5,000 den./tunic, and the arithmetic is correct as given there. That is to say, the coemptores collected 7,000 tal. = 10,500,000 den. (1 tal. = 1500 den.) and bought 150 sticharia, giving a unit price of 70,000 den. including expenses or 65,000 den. net of expenses. The price per sticharion works out as 43 tal. 500 den. excluding expenses, or 46 tal. 1,000 den. including them (33-4). This is for a Tyrian sticharion, see 19 with 20 n. above. The expenses total 500 talents. A breakdown is hardly possible, but presumably travel costs accounted for part of this. Consulting the table in Appendix III below will give some idea of the buying power of 500 talents at this time. We have evidence for Egyptian sticharion prices neatly bracketing this date (325), namely XLIV 3194 (4,000 dr. = 1,000 den. in 323) and PSI IV 309 re-edited by R. S. Bagnall, Stud. Pap. 21 (1982) 87-91 (1 tal. in 327). Both of these are 'official' prices, that is to say the amount paid or refunded by the government, and were further reduced by a  $6\frac{1}{2}\%$  deduction. (A different explanation is offered by J.-M. Carrié, op. cit. (12 n.), 435.) See also R. S. Bagnall, Currency and Inflation in Fourth-century Egypt (BASP suppl. 5) 69. 3776 27 records a price for a pair of third-grade sticharia in 343 as 133 tal. 500 den. Comparison of the dalmatic prices there with the earlier ones in 3765 12-13 (c.327) could suggest that the local price for a sticharion at the earlier date might have been of the order of 6-10 talents. If so, this would make clear the discrepancy between the real cost of the garments and the miserable recompense offered by the government. Cf. CPR VIII p. 82. The Tyrian figure of 43 tal. 500 den. may be sufficiently explained by the luxury nature of the goods, cf. 20 n.

24 Another crease has severely damaged this line, cf. 11n. There are occasional traces in the indicated initial lacuna.

30 A crease has severely damaged the first half of this line, cf. 11 n.

32-4 See 21 n.

39 For the consuls cf. 3756 26n.

39 77 This case is a clear example of abridgement in drafting the proceedings: note, e.g., the introduction of names into the argument (e.g. Demeas, 56) without any explanation of who they are. Similarly unexplained is, e.g.,  $\tau a \hat{v} \tau a$  in 44.

41 Theon, advocate, recurs in 99. Other 'statements of client' of this type are in 99-100, 158-9, 222(?); M. Chr. 97 i 3 and P. Bour. 20. 2; also 3759 2-3 and M. Chr. 93. 2 and the texts traditionally described as narratio documents such as P. Col. VII 174, of which the most recent treatment is by N. Lewis, P. Rainer. Cent. pp. 121-6.

Here and later a rho with a horizontal cutting the descender represents  $\dot{\rho}(\dot{\eta}\tau\omega\rho)$ : this is a common convention in records of proceedings.

ἐπὶ παρούςη. Cf. 156-8 n. below.

42 ὁ βοηθούμενος. Cf. 51, 61, 159; P. Lips. 33 ii 19, P. Bour. 20. 5, 30, and M. Chr. 300. 2, 4, 6.

λόγω μὲν καὶ τῷ δοκεῖν. Cf. SB V 7696. 30.

43 την ήγεμονίαν την τότε. See the introduction above, on ll. 5-38.

45  $[\![o\lambda o]\!]$ . The letters are small and close to the word before. The writer, before proceeding, deleted them and wrote the logistes' title more prominently. The reason for the rewriting at the end of the line (note that the readings are identical: this is not a correction) seems to be no more than clarity following on an accidental blot obscuring  $\omega c$  of  $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \tau \tau \hat{\omega} c$ .

46-7 χαμαιδικαςτής. χαμαιδικαςτής is usually rendered iudex pedaneus = iudex delegatus. In this case there clearly had been delegation, directly or indirectly  $(\tau \dot{\eta} \nu \ \tau \acute{o} \tau \epsilon, \ 43)$  from the praeses, but the wording in 46-7 implies that a case of this nature should have gone straight to the χαμαιδικαςτής; we may suppose that the equivalence arises precisely because the local or minor judiciary often were the delegated judges.

- 47 ἀκρῆς  $\alpha$ μ τῶν. The reading is more assured than the dots indicate; the insertion of  $\langle \tau οιούτων \rangle$  seems essential.
  - 48 ἔςτηκεν. Cf. P. Lips. 38. 3; P. Bour. 20. 25, and ζΡΕ 34 (1979) 106 (l. 2).
- 49 The repeated then deleted speech-introduction suggests that an intervening utterance by another speaker has been omitted in this version of the proceedings.

 $\epsilon$ κγόνων. Cf. 65, 74-7 with nn.

- 56 For the curator civitatis as competent official in cases of apertura testamenti cf. 141 2 n. below.
- 58 Tαπατρίνιος. Contrast 72 Tαπατρίνη. The introduction calls attention to a change of pen (or possibly hand) in this line: it comes between  $\gamma$  and  $\kappa$  of ἀνάγκην. Note the different style after this in the speech-introductions for the logistes.

60 Traces of a short interlineation above the beginning of the line.

61 The interlinear additions here and in 65, 75, and 77 are by the hand/pen responsible for ll. 39-58 of this section.

63 ἀγχίνοιαν. See H. Zilliacus, Unters. zu den abstrakten Anredeformen 49, 64, 105.

65  $\epsilon$ μμέλια (=  $\epsilon$ μμέλεια). See Zilliacus, op. cit. (63 n.), 45, 47, 67, 106; CPR V 12. 5 n.

τέκνων δικαίω. For the ius liberorum cf. the references collected in P. Köln III 150. 3 4 n.; add P. Mich. XV 719. 5-6 n. with Appendix II, pp. 158-71. The grammar seems odd. The possessor of this right is usually described as  $\chi \rho \eta \mu a \tau i \zeta o v c a \tau \epsilon \kappa \nu \omega v \delta \iota \kappa a i \omega$ . In some sense  $\chi \rho \eta \mu a \tau i \zeta o v c a$  must be understood here. The relevance presumably is that acting without a guardian Helen can dispose of property left to her (52-4) without her husband's control, cf. 74-7. Ammonius, advocate, recurs in 157 and in 3764 5, 16. The grounds for Theon's objection at the end of the line are not clear. Ammonius' status as an advocate seems to have been at issue in some way: the relationship between Theon and Ammonius is complex and not yet fully understood.

67 It was possibly intended to delete  $\lambda\eta\rho\epsilon\hat{i}$  together with  $\sigma\hat{i}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  at the end of 66.

71 There is an ink spot in the left margin level with this line; whether it is accidental, or was intended to be indicative, is not clear.

73 The initial traces are insufficient for a decision between βούλημα/βουλημάτιον.

74-5 A wider space between these lines, perhaps because of pre-existing surface damage.

74-7 For the ius liberorum cf. 65 n. above.

- 75 I have failed to read the mid-line supralineation. I do not think it can simply be  $\gamma'$ , i.e.  $(\tau \rho \iota \hat{\omega} \nu) \tau \acute{\epsilon} \kappa \nu \omega \nu$ . It would be possible to read  $\gamma \acute{a} \rho$ , but grammar would then seem to require the deletion of  $\tau \hat{\omega}$   $\mathring{a} \nu \delta \rho \acute{\iota}$  at the beginning of the line, which is not indicated in the manuscript.
- 78 πρὸς τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ. See 3757 3 n. Note that in the hearing starting at l. 98 on the same day the location is different (the λογιςτήριον).
- 81 There is an annotation in the left margin, of uncertain significance; it resembles a large mu with a vertical line (a rho?) through it. It is clearly not a  $\kappa\rho$ / $\epsilon$ cc-indicator (cf. R. A. Coles, Reports of Proceedings 54 n. 3) at this point (contrast 92 and n.). Does it indicate in some way that the revised version of this section (= 3757) is to be found on the other side? It is not simply a deleted start to  $M\acute{\alpha}\gamma\nu \nu \nu$ , begun too far to the left.
- τη ἐμη μετριότητι. For μετριότης, Lat. modicitas, mediocritas, see H. Zilliacus, Unters. zu den abstrakten Anredeformen 79, 95, 108; ZPE 10 (1973) 137.
- 83 The interlinear corrections here and in 85 (twice) and 89 and 91 are in a smaller more slanting hand than the main hand of 79-97. The correction in 95 may also be the work of this corrector. See 94 n.
- 85 There are two levels of interlinear correction, apparently both by the same hand.  $\omega \nu$  of  $\xi \chi \omega \nu$  was first deleted and  $\sigma \nu \tau \epsilon \epsilon$  inserted above; then  $\epsilon \chi$  and  $\sigma \nu \tau \epsilon \epsilon$  were struck out and  $\tau \sigma \delta \nu \nu \nu$  written higher up still. For the damaged letters before  $\tau \hat{\eta} \epsilon$ , see 3757 gn.
- 92 For the ecthesis, locating the curator's κρίειε, cf. R. A. Coles, Reports of Proceedings 54 n. 3. Contrast e.g. the format in 108, where the curator's utterance begins the line but is not his κρίειε.
- 94 The corrections here and in 97 (see also the app. crit.) are in a different script (greyer and less crisp) from those listed in 83 n., and may be from a different hand.
- 98 πρὸς τῷ λ[ο] χιςτ [ηρίω. Note that in the hearing that began at l. 78 on the same day the location is different (the Kαπιτώλιον). For the λογιςτήριον cf. L 3576 18-19 n.; for other locations for hearings before the logistes see 3757 3 n.

100 'Icíov Παγγά. See A. Calderini, Diz. geogr. iii. 35; P. Pruneti, I centri abitati dell' Ossirinchite 71-2. ἐπὶ παρόντι. Cf. 156-8 n. below.

101 πάροικος. Cf. e.g. ξένος (cf. 122 below) καὶ πάροικος, L 3584 5. Note P. Harr. II 239. 1 n.

107 The hearing of the case was clearly delegated by the *praeses* to the *curator* as the local official, cf. 123-4. 112-13  $\mu \dot{\eta} \tau_t [v\epsilon c c v v\epsilon \kappa \lambda \eta] g[o] v \dot{\phi} \mu \eta c a v$ . The restoration is conjectural but must represent the general sense.

118 av (= ov). Cf. e.g. P. Sak. 32 (= P. Thead. 14). 31; P. Lips. 32 (= M. Chr. 93). 5; F. T. Gignac, Grammar i 217.

119-20 μετὰ τὴν αὔριον. Cf. 127. The next day (Phamenoth 18 = 14 March 325) was a Sunday, on which no court proceedings would be held (cf. 3759 introd. and 38 n.); for the system of reckoning see V. Grumeł, La Chronologie p. 316.

120 οὖερεδάριος. Lat. veredarius. The word is already attested several times elsewhere in papyri in the spelling βερεδάριος/βεριδάριος. See B. Meinersmann, Lat. Wörter u. Namen 10; S. Daris, Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto 33; and now especially F. Paschoud, Bonner Hist.-Aug.-Colloquium 1979/1981 (Bonn 1983) 215-43, esp. 238-43.

120-1 οὐερεδάριος γὰρ ἐλθὼν ἤγαγέν με (l. μοι) ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρε[ί]ας. This presumably has nothing to do with the fact that Syrus was an immigrant to the Oxyrhynchite nome, cf. 121-2; rather, the original documents to support his occupancy of the property  $(\gamma \nu \omega \rho i \epsilon \mu \alpha \tau \alpha, 110; ἀποδείξεις, 119, 128; βιβλία, 127)$  had been filed in one of the Alexandrian record-offices and copies were now being brought out to him.

121 For Libya see J. Mathwich, ZPE 15 (1974) 74-5; A. Calderini, Diz. geogr. iii. 199-201.

122 ξένος εἶναι τῆς πολιτίας. Is this not just a reference to the Oxyrhynchite nome but charged with a wider implication, that since the Diocletianic reorganization (see the article by Mathwich cited above) Syrus belonged to a totally different province, viz. Libya Inferior? Such, however, is not the sense carried by τῆςδε τῆς πολιτίας in 188.

123 τη έμη μετριότητι. Cf. 81 n.

124 τοῦ διακοςμήταντος τὸν θρόνον τῆς ἡγεμονίας. Cf. 7-8, and 3756 7 and n. For Sabinianus, praeses Mercurianae cf. 8 n. above.

127 μετά την αυριον. See 119 ·20 n.

131 There are a few scanty traces of ink on loose fibres besides the few traces indicated.

134 ἐν τῷ Ἀδριανίω. Cf. the note to P. Harr. 160. 2, re-ed. ZPE 37 (1980) 237-8. Further examples are in 3767 1 and 3764 14, and cf. L 3576 18-19 n. For other locations of hearings before the logistes see 3757 3 n.

 $B \epsilon \rho \epsilon \gamma [\iota] \kappa \iota [a] \nu [o] \hat{v} \beta \rho [\eta] \theta (o\hat{v})$ . Is this man possibly to be identified with the strategus (by this time a locally recruited post of course) of two years later, no. 121 in J. E. G. Whitehorne's list, ZPE 29 (1978) 184?

136 ταβελλίωνος. See A. Berger, Enc. Dict. s.v. tabellio, with references.

139  $\epsilon \nu \tau o$ . There is hardly room for anything further. Perhaps  $\dot{\epsilon} \nu \tau o | \lambda \acute{a} c$  or the like (cf. 188), but the beginning of 140 is too damaged to allow confirmation.

140 After ἀπέλθοι, ἐπενεγκεῖν (cf. 189) vel sim. is expected, but I cannot read the traces as ἐ $\pi$ [.

141 έμμελεία. See 65 n. above.

141-2 For the curator civitatis as competent official in cases of apertura testamenti cf. 56 above. This is yet another area in which the curator encroaches on functions which were formerly those of the strategus, cf. B. R. Rees, JJP 7-8 (1953-4) 86 (for the strategus, cf. e.g. P. Mert. II 75 introd.; R. Taubenschlag, Law<sup>2</sup> 203-4).

146 ἐπτά. For seven-witness peregrine wills see P. Col. VII 188. 26-31 n.; the evidence of that papyrus is usefully consolidated by the present text of just five years later.

τές caρες. Cf. e.g. BGU I 361 iii 2, 15. Four is of course the required maior pars of the full complement of seven, cf. H. Kreller, Erbr. Unters. 402-3.

146-7 Cf. 198-9 below. The first three words of 147 are very conjectural;  $\tau \epsilon$  of  $\tau \epsilon \epsilon [\epsilon \alpha] \rho[\epsilon] \epsilon$  is reasonably secure, and suggests the reading.

148 Seemingly not παρόντων or τεccάρων at the beginning.

148-9 ἐπεγνωκέναι ἐαυτῶν τὰς εφραγίδας. Cf. H. Kreller, op. cit. 402.

151  $\phi$  of  $\Phi$ αμενώθ corr. from  $\pi$ , the scribe having changed an unfinished ὑπατείαν Πρόκλου to τὴν αὐτὴν

ύπατείαν and then again to την ένεςτως αν ύπατείαν?

154 Cf. D. Just. 10. 2. 4. 3, heredem enim exemplum debere dare, tabulas vero authenticas ipsum retinere. The requirement that the original will and not a copy of it be deposited in the government records (M. Kaser, Das röm. Privatrecht i² 693; H. Kreller, op. cit. 405) is clearly not yet applicable here, and αὐθεντικόν is not to be understood in its sense of 'officially certified copy', for which see R. A. Coles, Reports of Proceedings 24, 54, with references.

156 πρὸς τῷ Καπιτωλίω. Cf. 78 above (= **3757** 3).

156-8 ἐπὶ παρόντων (156), ἐπὶ παρούςη (158). Formulae of this type were discussed in my Reports of

Proceedings, esp. p. 33, but these logistes-texts add two new elements. First, the widespread use of the  $\epsilon \pi i \pi a \rho \acute{o} \nu \tau \omega \nu$  type to cover court officials etc. and also witnesses in cases of apertura testamenti (cf. 134 ff. above); I only quoted one uncertain example of this formula (op. cit. 33 n. 1), in P. Phil. 3. 2. The second is the use of the dative  $\epsilon \pi i \pi a \rho \acute{o} \nu \tau \iota$  type to denote the defendant, occurring here each time in a statement of his client's identity by the advocate for the plaintiff. None of the examples I cited op. cit. 33 n. 3 is exactly parallel for this usage.

For ἐπὶ παρόντων in these texts cf. 3757 3; 3758 5, 78, 98, 134, 181; 3759 1; 3764 14; 3767 1.

For ἐπὶ παρόντι/παρούςη cf. 3758 41 (the deduction regarding the significance of the formula has been

particularly useful here in disentangling the persons in the case), and 100.

158 τ $\hat{\eta}$ [c c. 7 ]  $\pi$   $\dot{\phi}$   $\dot{\lambda}$   $\dot{\epsilon}$   $\omega$ c. There is no direct indication elsewhere as to which city this is; nevertheless, the contrast with 159  $\dot{a}$ π $\dot{o}$  τ $\dot{\eta}$ c  $\dot{\delta}$ ε τ $\dot{\eta}$ ε π $\dot{\phi}$  $\dot{\lambda}$ ε  $\omega$ c followed by 160  $\dot{\epsilon}$ π $\dot{\iota}$ τ $\dot{\eta}$ ε  $\dot{a}$ υτ $\dot{\eta}$ ε π $\dot{\epsilon}$ λε $\omega$ c strongly implies that Chaeremon alias Ischyrion came from elsewhere than Oxyrhynchus.

159 τῶ βοηθουμένω, 'my client'. Cf. 42 n.

160 Έρμείας γεωμέτρης. Cf. 166-7 παῖς ὑποχίριος. For minors holding office cf. N. Lewis, BASP 16 (1979) 117-19, with P. Leit. 8 and the list of examples ibid. p. 21; he concludes that 'under age' is likely to mean 'less than 25'. On γεωμέτραι see F. Oertel, Die Liturgie 181; J. Lallemand, L'Admin. civile 180; also H. Kupiszewski,  $\mathcal{J}\mathcal{J}P$  6 (1952) 257-9.

Is performance of the office elsewhere than one's place of origin (manifestly Oxyrhynchus, in Hermias'

case) the explanation for Hermias' departure for the Oasis?

164 της εής έμμελείας. See 65 n.

165-7 These lines do not represent a request for a judgement against Hermias in absentia: Hermias is a minor but his mother is present and she can (but contrast 169) receive judgement on his behalf (cf. R. Taubenschlag,  $Law^2$  145, on a father's position in these circumstances). For the identification of Thaesis as the formal defendant in the hearing see 156-8n. For materna potestas see Taubenschlag, op. cit. 149-57 with references on p. 149; J. Modrzejewski,  $\mathcal{JJP}$  9-10 (1955-6) 355-7. Thaesis should exercise materna potestas (see 169 for her claim to have abdicated it, which is a separate issue) because the father has died. Papirion (161) takes no active part in these proceedings (in so far as the text has been read, but  $\tau \hat{\eta} c$   $\mu \eta \tau \rho \hat{o} c$   $\pi a \rho o \hat{v} c \gamma c$  for example (166) excludes the possibility), and presumably he died subsequent to the action attested in  $\hat{a} \pi \epsilon \kappa \eta \rho \hat{v} \hat{c} \hat{a} \hat{a} \mu \epsilon v \hat{b}$  in 169 (is the correction to the plural (cf. 170 too) of subtle significance?).

166 κυρία. Cf. **3759** 18 n., 37 n.

167 For ὑποχείριος cf. R. Taubenschlag, Law<sup>2</sup> 131<sup>4</sup>.

169 ἀπεκηρύξα 'μεν'. On ἀποκήρυξις see M. Wurm, Apokeryxis, Abdicatio und Exheredatio (Münch. Beitr. 60, Munich 1972); M. Kaser, Das röm. Privatrecht ii. 213; R. Taubenschlag, Law<sup>2</sup> 52, 137-8; S. Jameson, Hist. 24 (1975) 290. The present text notably attests the persistence of the practice despite the recent injunction of Diocletian, Cod. Just. 8. 46. 6 (AD 288).

οὖκ ἔχω πρᾶγμα πρὸς αὖτόν. Presumably materna potestas was equally annulled by ἀποκήρυξις, although the implication of the plural ἀπεκηρύξαμεν must be that the rejection took place in the father's lifetime and thus that it was patria potestas that had been annulled and the question of materna potestas does not arise. Nevertheless, materna potestas over Hermias, whether it truly existed or not, must constitute the grounds on which Thaesis has been brought to court as defendant.

176 ococe. The division is justified by the finial to first sigma, space, and enlarged second omicron. Divide further  $\delta$  ce?

The residual traces assigned to this line pose a problem because they are on a glue-stained area which was once covered by a kollesis. Possibly a strip had lifted off before these proceedings were written and 179 was then written on the exposed surface. But the problem is complicated by the appearance of similar traces level with the line above (where there has been surface loss before ] $\nu \delta \eta \mu \rho c \iota$ . [) which interfere with the ductus of the definite surviving letters.

180 Contrast 165-7n. In fact a judgement in absentia must be what we have here, if Thaesis' claim of ἀποκήρυξις (169) is accepted. However, although ἀποκήρυξις was widely practised it had nevertheless been expressly forbidden by Diocletian (Cod. Just. 8. 46. 6, AD 288) so that it is quite likely that the curator's court would not accept Thaesis' denial of responsibility for her son on such grounds. Could οἱ νόμοι κελεψ[ουςιν, 171-2, refer to legislation on this subject?

αὖριον = Phamenoth 23 = Friday, 19 March 325.

181  $\Phi a \mu \epsilon \nu \dot{\omega} \theta \iota \theta$  (the reading is clear and  $\kappa \theta$  is not possible) breaks the chronological sequence of the hearings (see the introd. above).

γυμναςίω. For other locations for hearings before the logistes see 3757 3 n.

184 Poemenius is  $\tau \alpha \beta \epsilon \lambda \lambda i \omega \nu$  as well as  $\dot{\rho} \dot{\eta} \tau \omega \rho$ , see 197; cf. 136–7 above. He recurs as  $\dot{\rho} \dot{\eta} \tau \omega \rho$  in 3759 2 (2 October 325).

186-7  $\tau \hat{\eta} c \epsilon av [\tau o] \hat{v} \gamma \nu \omega \mu \eta c$ . Identification of the deceased, namely the veteran Besarion (cf. 202, 211), must precede this somewhere, but I have failed to discern it in the traces.

187-8 αἰδετιμώτατον. This is an early example of the use of this honorific epithet. See H. Zilliacus, Unters. zu den abstrakten Anredeformen 60, 83.

189 παραςχ[ό]μενος. An interlineation above the end of this word (cf. app. crit.)?

εί τοῦ βίου ἀπέλθοι. Cf. 140.

190 ἐντρεχία. Lat. experientia. See Zilliacus, op. cit. 62, 67, 88. γνωςθήναι is understandable but one suspects an error of omission and that ἀναγνωςθήναι was intended.

195 The reference is to the number of signatories, cf. 146. As in that case, there were seven signatories and four (cf. 183-4) are present for the opening of the will.

196 More traces of ink actually survive at the beginning than the transcription indicates, but they are on a twisted and distorted 'rope' of loose fibres.

The damaged traces before  $B\eta ca\rho i\omega voc$  are presumably from his first name (if there are not too many letters for just that), and the first letter may be  $\phi$  or  $\iota$ , but I have failed to read what is left as part of  $\Phi\lambda aoviov$ . For the use of this gentilicium by soldiers and veterans see J. G. Keenan, ZPE 11 (1973) 33-63, esp. 49-50 (50 n. 48 cites some rare examples of military Aurelii in this period); ibid. 13 (1974) 283-304. Note that the curator civitatis in the present hearing (Dioscurides alias Julianus) was still Valerius in the following month (XLIII 3125), although a senior official (a magister privatae) in that same document bears the gentilicium Flavius. Ovalepiov does not seem possible here. We do not know either the precise date at which the use of the gentilicium Flavius was instituted in place of Valerius (Keenan cites an example of Flavius dated 13 January 325, ZPE 11 (1973) 48), nor the mechanics of its allocation (on which see Keenan, ZPE 13 (1974) 297-301), and with allocations on an individual or category basis such discrepancies need not surprise us.

203-5 The year is the preceding year, 324. The use of this particular consular formula in Egypt is so far attested only for December, see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* 109. Since the clerk may have applied the formula retrospectively, ignoring the actual form which was revealed when the will was opened, we cannot be certain that the will was drawn up in the last months of the year, after the defeat of Licinius.

206 Or ὑπο- at end?

207 Cf. SB I 4426. 8 ἀποδοῦναι τὸ χρεών = 'die', XXXIV **2713** 6-7 (see *BL* VI p. 111); a comparable expression seems likely here.

210 τη έμη μετριότητι. Cf. 81 n.

212 Or κατα, at end? But the last two traces are difficult to read on this interpretation.

215 The number of letters indicated is only approximate, as elsewhere in this fragment (especially 216 and 220).

218-19 The traces shown as from the earlier parts of these lines are on a piece linked to the main fragment by a twisted mass of loose fibres, and their vertical position and thus line-assignment are not certain.

219 There is space for another line between this and 220, but no ink survives and we may have here a space between records of different hearings, as earlier in the roll.

221 Presumably we are at the commencement of a report here, cf. 79, 99, 157, 184. Restore  $i]\pi\eta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau ov$ . It is uncertain whether 220 should form part of this report (cf. 219 n.). 221 is likely to have continued with the opening speech for the advocate for the prosecution, briefly identifying his client (cf. e.g. 99 100), here apparently without indicating the presence of the defendant; hence the punctuation adopted in 222.

221-8 The articulation is uncertain at many places in this fragment, and the choice in the transcript is frequently arbitrary.

222  $^3$ Icíov  $\Pi$ ayy $\hat{a}$  is presumably the domicile of one of the parties in the case, cf. 100. Cf. 221 n. After  $\hat{\eta} \mu \acute{\epsilon} \nu$ , I can discern neither a personal name nor e.g.  $\check{\epsilon}$ youca.

226-8 There are wider spaces between 226, 227, and 228 than elsewhere on this fragment (221-8); the reason is not apparent.

# **3759.** Proceedings before the Logistes

11 1B.145/G (a) 24.5 × 55 cm 2 October 325

This report of proceedings before the logistes is self-standing and complete except for intermittent damage down the right edge. It was written transversa charta (see 3758 introd.) on the back of a piece cut from a roll of declarations of prices made to the logistes by the various guilds; the declarations thus preserved are published above as 3747–53. 3759 begins at the 3753 end. Written up the margin between 3747 and 3748 (thus across the fibres and at the end of the off-cut piece) is a single line which constitutes a label for the proceedings; this 'label' is transcribed below as l. 42.

The basic issue in the case appears to have been the ownership of some buildings or building-land, and other officials (the prefect, the strategus) had already been involved. The sequence of events may be deduced as follows: (a) proceedings (more than one hearing presumably) before the strategus (7, 18-20); the defendants did not appear and a decision (19) was given against them in absentia. (b) Instructions passed from the strategus through the praepositus pagi to the village officials (8), but without result (9). (c) A petition to the prefect (10, 21, 23, 29) enclosing the strategus'  $\delta\pi o\mu\nu\dot{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$  (7). (d) The prefect's subscription to the petition (14) delegates the case to the curator (also 7, 11). (e) The prosecution therefore sends an ἐπίcταλμα, an officially recognized private denuntiatio, to the defendants (25-6), only apparently to a different set of defendants (24, 28). The present hearing (f) is consequent on the  $\epsilon \pi i (c \tau a) \mu a$ , but is complicated by the apparent perversity of the prosecution in bringing the action against different persons. The time before ((a) above) the defendants had failed to appear, and now again it seems that persons concerned were not present (39-40). If Ischyrion the defending advocate is acting on behalf of the newly prosecuted persons, then the original defendants not unreasonably still failed to appear. Much of the current hearing is taken up with Ischyrion's objections to the prosecution's change of course and, presumably, by implication to the consequent application of the original default procedure to his new clients who had (because not previously summoned) not so been at fault; it is not clear if they are present at the current hearing (cf. 39-40, and 37 n.), but that is a separate issue. At the end of the day the logistes postpones continuation of the proceedings, since the next day is Sunday, and puts off a decision yet again, to give all concerned one more chance to appear: but this time, all present or not, a decision is promised.

There are two points of prosopographical interest. The prefect Flavius Magnus is known from this text (which gives the latest date we have for him) and 3756–8 only; his tenure is discussed in 3756 9n. The date of the proceedings falls within the known tenure of the logistes Flavius Leucadius; his name does not appear within the proceedings themselves but he is named in the docket on the back (42). For the evidence for his tenure see Appendix I below.

Line 38 contains the earliest papyrological reference to Sunday as the Lord's Day;

cf. XLVIII **3407** introd. and 15–16 n. For the cessation of legal business on Sunday see Cod. Just. 3. 12. 2(3) (AD 321) cited in **3407** 15–16 n.: omnes iudices . . . venerabili die solis quiescant. See further 38 n. below. Contrast **3741**.

For kollesis-locations and kollema-sizes on this piece of papyrus cf. the introd. to 3747-53.

(ἔτους) κf''καὶ if''καὶ  $\beta f''$ , Φαῶφι  $\epsilon'$ . ἐν τῷ Κορίῳ ἱερῷ. ἐπὶ παρό[ντων] Διονυςοδώρου ὑπηρέτου καὶ Φανίου παρέδρου, Ποιμένιος  $\delta$ (ήτωρ)  $\epsilon[\hat{i}(πεν)\cdot Xαι-?]$ 

ρήμων ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτόθι ἐντυγχάνει. οὐ δικαςτήριον ε....  $\dot{\theta}$ ....  $[cv\gamma-]$  κροτεῖν ἦλθον, μὴ τοῦτο νομίςης, καὶ ἑξῆς λέγοντος Ἰςχυρίων ῥ(ήτωρ) εἶ( $\pi$ εν)·  $\pi$ αρα-

5 γράφομαι· πρὸ[c] τίνα λέγει εἰπάτω. Ποιμένιος ῥ(ήτωρ) εἶ(πεν)· ὁ κύριός μου διαςημ(ότατος)

ἔπαρχος τῆς Αἰγύπτου Φλάουιος Μάγνος πρὸς τὰ αὐτοτελῶς γενόμενα ὑπομνήματα παρὰ τῆ ετρατηγία βοηθόν εε δέδωκεν. καὶ γὰρ ἐπιετάλματα ἐγένετο παρὰ τοῦ πραι(ποείτου) πρὸς τοὺς δημοείους π[ερὶ τοῦ] παραδοῦναι τὴν νομήν. ἦττον ἐφρόντιςαν πρὸς τοῦτο κ[αὶ ἀνη-]

νέγκαμεν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριόν μου [.] τὸν ἔπαρχον καὶ . . . [ c. 4 ]
τερόν cε βοηθὸν ἔcχαμεν καὶ ἀξιοῦμεν τὴν νομὴν . . [. . παραδο-]
θῆναι. /ὁ λογιςτὴς εἶ(πεν)· τί προς έταξ[ε]ν ὁ δες πότης μου [διας ημότατος]
ἔπαρχος τῆς Αἰγύπτου Φλάουιος Μάγνος; [Ποιμένιος ῥ(ήτωρ) εἶ(πεν)·
ἀνα-]

[γ.] καὶ ἀνεγνώςθη οὕτως· ὁ λογιςτὴς τὰ κατὰ νόμους ὁριςθέντα ἐπιτελῆ καταςτήςει, ὥςτε ςυνχώρηςον ἀναγνῶναι τὰ ὑπομνή-ματα ἀφ' ὧν ἐντελέςτερον ...[.]. ει ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔτερον ὑπ[ο-] λείπεταί μοι ἢ εἰςαχθῆναι εἰς τὴν νομὴν τῶν οἰκοπέ[δων.] κατὰ κυρίαν γὰρ ἀπελίφθης[α]ν οἱ ἀντίδικοι. οὐ παρεληλυθότες εἰς τὸ δικαςτήριον κατὰ κυρίαν, ἀπόφαςιν ἐδέξαν[το]

καὶ ἔξωροι γεγόναςι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. /ὁ λογιςτης εἶ(πεν)· πρὸς τίνα λέγει εἰπάτω. Ποιμένιος ῥ(ήτωρ) εἶ(πεν)· κατὰ Άράχθου ἀνήνεγκε καὶ Εὐδαίμονα καὶ Φίβιος καὶ τῶν ςὺν αὐτοῖς. Ἰςχυρίων ῥ(ήτωρ) εἶ(πεν)· μαρτύρομαι ὅτι κατά τινων ἀνήνεγκεν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριόν μου τὸῦ

<sup>1</sup> Ι. Κορείω 4 ει and so passim a more clearly written a 9 ητ τον 22 Ι. Εὐδαίμονος;  $c\dot{v}$ 

<sup>5</sup> διατημ $\int$  8 Trace above second a of  $\pi a \rho a$  perhaps 18 l.  $a \pi \epsilon \lambda \epsilon i \phi \theta \eta c a v$ ; ουπαρ written over washed-out letters

ἔπαρχον καὶ κατ' ἐτέρων εἰςάγει νῦν. τοῦτο μαρτύριον ἔςται μοι
τῆς παραγραφῆς. /ὁ λογιςτὴς εἶ(πεν)· αὐτὸ τὸ ἐπίςταλμα
ὁ ἐπέςτειλας τῷ ἀντιδικοῦντί ςοι ἀνάγνωθι. καὶ ἀνεγνώςθη·
μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωςιν Ἰςχυρίων ῥ(ήτωρ) εἶ(πεν)· παραγραφὴν ἐπηγγιλάμην· περὶ ἑτέρων προςώπων τὴν δίκην νῦν εἰςάγει,
περί τινων ἀνενεγκὼν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριόν μου τὸν ἔπαρχον.
τὴν οὖν παραγραφὴν ἐπηγγιλάμην θαυμαςτὴν
οὖςαν καὶ ἐννομωτάτην· ὡς οὐδαμῶς δύνᾳτᾳι

οὖταν καὶ ἐννομωτάτην· ὡτ οὐδαμῶτ δύνᾳτᾳι εἰταγώγιμον ποιεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα ὁ ἀντίδικοτ. καὶ ἑξῆτ λέγοντοτ Ποιμένιοτ ῥ(ήτωρ) εἶ(πεν)· μαρτύρομαι τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ ὅτι μὴ δύναται εἰταγώγιμον εἶναι τὴν δίκην

35 ὅπως ἀξιῶ ἤδη εἰς νομὴν πέμπεςθαι τῶν οἰκοπέδων.
|ὁ λογ(ιςτὴς) εἶ(πεν)· ἐπειδὴ ἑςπέρας ἐγέγετο πρόκριμα οὐδὲν
ἔςται τῆς κυρίας μήπω ἐνςτάςης. ἐπείπερ μέρος τι
τῆς ἐπιούςης κυριακῆς ἱερᾶς ἐπέκυψεν, ὑπε[ρ-]
τεθήςεται μετὰ τὴν κυριακὴν ἡ δίκη μέχρι [οῦ ἀμ]φότερα

40 τὰ μέρη παρέςεται πρὸς δικαιολογίαν. ἐὰν [ γὰρ ] `δέ' τις ἀπολ[ει-] φθῆ εἴ τι παρίςταται τῆ ἐμῆ μετριότητι ἀποκριθήςομ[αι.]

Back  $\dot{v}$ πομν $(\dot{\eta}$ ματα) μη $(\dot{v}$ ος) Φα $\dot{\omega}$ φι κ $\int''$ ι $\int''$ β $\int''$ ἐπὶ Λευκαδίου λοχιςτοῦ.

24 l.  $\kappa a \theta$  27-8, 30 l.  $\epsilon \pi \eta \gamma \gamma \epsilon \iota \lambda \dot{a} \mu \eta \nu$  36  $\lambda o \gamma^{t}$ ; l.  $\dot{\epsilon} c \pi \dot{\epsilon} \rho a$  41  $\pi a \rho \ddot{\iota} c \tau a \tau a \iota$  42  $\nu \pi o \mu \nu / \mu \eta$ 

'Year 20, 10, and 2, Phaophi 5. In the temple of Kore. In the presence of Dionysodorus, assistant, and Phanias, assessor, Poemenius, advocate, said, "[Chae?|remon of this locality petitions. I have not come [trying?] to contrive a hearing—do not think this", and while he continued speaking, Ischyrion, advocate, said, "I object. Let him say against whom he speaks." Poemenius, advocate, said, "My lord the prefect of Egypt Flavius Magnus, vir perfectissimus, in response to minutes made independently at the strategus' office, gave you as our helper. Communications had passed from the praepositus to the village officials concerning the transference of possession. They paid no attention to this, and we petitioned before my lord the prefect and we obtained you . . . as a helper and we request that possession . . . be transferred." The curator said, "What did my master the prefect of Egypt Flavius Magnus, vir perfectissimus, ordain?" And there was read as follows: "The curator is to put into effect what has been decided in accordance with the law'; therefore assent to the reading of the minutes, from which . . . more completely that nothing else remains for me except to be installed in possession of the sites, inasmuch as on the appointed day the defendants did not appear; not having come to the court on the appointed day, they were given a decision and have been decreed out of time in accordance with the laws." The curator said, "Let him say against whom he speaks." Poemenius, advocate, said, "He petitioned against Harachthes and Eudaemon and Phibis and those with them." Ischyrion, advocate, said, "I call you to witness that he petitioned against certain persons before my lord the prefect and it is against different persons that he now brings a case. This will be the evidence for my objection." The curator said, "Read out the actual communication which you sent to your adversary." And it was read; after the reading, Ischyrion, advocate, said, "I gave notice of my objection. After petitioning my lord the prefect regarding certain persons, he is now bringing a case in respect of different persons. So I gave notice of my objection which is admirable and absolutely within the law; thus in no way can my adversary make the case tenable." While he

was continuing to speak, Poemenius, advocate, said, "I call his own words to witness, that the case is untenable; so that I now request to be assigned possession of the sites." The curator said, "Since the hour of vespera has passed, there shall be no prejudgement, the appointed day not yet having arrived. Since some part of the coming sacred Lord's Day has supervened, the case will be deferred till (the day?) after the Lord's Day, until both the parties shall be present for judgement. But if anyone is absent, I shall give such decision as occurs to my humble self."

(Back) 'Minutes for the month of Phaophi, (year) 20, 10, and 2, before Leucadius, curator.'

- Ι ἐν τῷ Κορίῳ ἱερῷ. For the cult of Kore at Oxyrhynchus, and her temples, cf. XII 1449, esp. 52 ἐν ἱερῷ τῆς Κόρης. For other locations for hearings before the logistes see 3757 3 n.
  - 2 Poemenius has appeared in 3758 184; see n.

For the form of  $\dot{\rho}(\dot{\eta}\tau\omega\rho)$  see 3758 41 n.

- 2-3 Χαι-?]ρήμων ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτόθι ἐντυγχάνει. For such 'statements of client' at the start of a hearing cf. 3758 41 n.
- 3-4 δικαςτήριον . . . [cυγ]κροτεῖν. Cf. XLIII 3126 i 10-11 and n. The damaged passage in 3 here presumably contained a word meaning 'wishing', 'trying', or the like, but I have failed to read it.
- 5 πρὸ[c] τίνα λέγει εἰπάτω. Note that Poemenius' statement of client in 2–3 omits the ἐπὶ παρόντι-type phrase denoting the defendant (cf. 3758 156-8 n.).
- 12 [διαςημότατος]. The supplement is hardly in doubt. Scanty traces in fact survive of the opening letters but I cannot allocate them to particular letters.
- 13 ff. It is unclear why Poemenius' speech-introduction was deleted. He probably read the quotation that follows (cf. Ischyrion, in 25-7). If I understand the structure of 14-20 rightly, and am correct in supposing the quotation to end at 15, then the speech following has no speaker's introduction. This will be regardless of the identity of the quotation-reader, though  $\omega c \tau \epsilon$  (15) suggests that quotation-reader and speech-speaker must be
- 15 For ω̃cτε followed by the imperative cf. Mayser ii 1 p. 300 and ii 3 p. 97. At end, υπομ), i.e. υπομ(), was first written.
- 17 End of οἰκοπέ[δων] is not clear and the lacuna is scarcely adequate for three letters. Was the word abbreviated in some way? For οἰκόπεδα see G. Husson, Oikia 209-11.
- 18 κατὰ κυρίαν. See A.-J. Boyé, La Denuntiatio 214 n. 32; R. Taubenschlag, Opera Minora ii 179 ff.; BGU XV 2467. 24b n.; and 37 n. below. For judgements in absentia see also T. C. Skeat and E. P. Wegener, JEA 21 (1935) 241-2.
  - 21 Possibly ἀνήνεγκε[ν] at end. [Chae?]remon (2-3) is the subject.
- 25–6 Unexpectedly, the logistes' words only seem to make sense if addressed to Poemenius, in spite of Ischyrion's intervention in 22–5. The logistes will then be seeking to establish from Poemenius the precise identity of the persons against whom the prosecution's action is presently directed (thus this  $\frac{\partial \pi}{\partial t}$  will be the denuntiatio), and this will explain Ischyrion's outburst in 27 ff. This copy of the proceedings does not quote this  $\frac{\partial \pi}{\partial t}$  is this important information omitted because this copy was made for the prosecution, for whom its inclusion would seem unfavourable?
- 36 έςπέρας (l. έςπέρα) ἐγένετο. For the technical use of ἑςπέρα to denote the hour before sunset cf. V. Grumel, La Chronologie 164.
- 37 τῆς κυρίας. Contrast κατὰ κυρίαν, 18 and 19, the dies legitimus or supremus which has already passed. The defendants failed to appear then, and judgement was given against them. It seems to have been ineffectual and now the new hearing has its own dies legitimus or supremus and again the defendants (their identity is not clear, cf. 21-9) have apparently so far failed to turn up (cf. 39-40) although Ischyrion the advocate is present. Whether after this further delay effective justice was anywhere nearer attainment we are not told.
- 38 κυριακής. Cf. the introduction. This example of κυριακή, 'the Lord's Day', is at the same time the earliest from papyri and precisely dated; it also shows that the substantival usage was already current. On days of the week see XLIV 3174 17 n. 3 October 325 was indeed a Sunday, as can be calculated by the tables in V. Grumel, La Chronologie 316. For Sunday see further W. Rordorf, Der Sonntag (Abhandl. zur Theol. d. Alten u. Neuen Test., 43) (Zürich, 1962; Engl. transl. by A. A. K. Graham, London, 1968).
- ἐπέκυψεν. Cf. Theophylactus Simocatta III 16. 2, ἐπεὶ χειμῶνος ὥρα παρέκυπτεν. The implication in the papyrus must be that the 24-hour day of the week was here considered as beginning at sunset with the 'first hour of the night'. In Oxyrhynchus at the date of **3759** this would have been approximately 5.40 p.m., see

F. K. Ginzel, Handb. der math. u. techn. Chronologie ii 165 7. The meaning of  $\mu \acute{\epsilon} \rho o \epsilon \tau_{l} \ldots \acute{\epsilon} \pi \acute{\epsilon} \kappa v \psi \epsilon v$  will presumably be that the court session has run on past that time. Cf. 36 n. on vespera,

42 For the docket cf. the title to 3758, ll. 3 4. Note here that it comes at the foot-end of the proceedings; and that if it was to serve as a 'label' for the roll, as surely it was, then the curvature of the roll was reversed on rolling.

# 3760-3763. Declarations of Prices

4 1B.76/p 33×24.5 cm 326?

The front of this papyrus was used for a series of declarations of prices by guilds. In all parts of five declarations are preserved. I do not transcribe the first item: there are a few scattered traces from line-ends only, few of them identifiable as particular letters. The second declaration is that of the  $\hat{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\nu\rho\gamma\sigma\dot{\epsilon}$ , the third that of the  $\hat{\epsilon}\rho\tau\nu\mu\alpha\tau\sigma\hat{\omega}\lambda\alpha\iota$ , and the fourth that of the  $\kappa\hat{\alpha}\pi\eta\lambda\sigma\iota$ ; of the last one little survives but the subscription, from which the guild cannot be identified. The three guilds identified here recur in the same order in 3738-40; cf. also 3765 1-4.

As usual, the text is not a τόμος ευγκολλήειμος. For the regular format in such declarations see 3731 introd. As far as can be ascertained the main bodies of the declarations are in the same hand (this is certainly true for 3760–1; 3762 is too damaged for certainty, while almost nothing survives from the other two), as would in any case be expected. Names of declarants and the prices were presumably later insertions, although the only evidence for this is the slightly narrower space into which 3760 6 has been squeezed. I suppose that the insertions were made in the logistes' bureau by the scribe who had drafted the declarations in advance. The subscriptions are all in different hands. There is one kollesis, after 3761, clearly of the three-layer type (cf. P. Harr. II 212 introd. and LI 3624–6 introd.). The strip-construction (pace I. H. M. Hendriks, ZPE 37 (1980) 121 ff.: his views were restated in a modified form in Atti del XVII Congresso int. di Papirologia (Napoli, 1984), 31–7; see P. Harr. II 214 introd.) of the left-hand kollema is particularly clear, and the width of the strips fluctuates, from a substantial 3.5 cm (or possibly more) down to 2 cm.

For the date see 3760 introd.

On the back is an extensive official document of c.337 whose publication is reserved for a later volume.

## **3760.** Declaration of Prices

For some general comments on this roll see the introduction just above to 3760-3. The upper part of the roll is mostly missing, and it is here that it survives most fully. The date (see 1 n.) and the identity of the logistes are highly conjectural, but the proposed combination (1-2) seems the best since the prices of  $\phi \acute{a} \beta a$  and  $\kappa \acute{\nu} \mu \nu \nu \nu$  (3761 13-14, at 6 and 8 tal./art.) are the same as in 3765 1-2 of c. 327 and ought not to be too distant in date, while the prices declared by the  $\kappa \acute{a} \pi \eta \lambda o \iota$  (3762 15-16) are in one case slightly lower than

is listed for the corresponding items in 3765 3-4 so that the 3760-3 roll may be expected to be slightly earlier than 3765 (but cf. 3773 for seasonal variation in wine prices).

The guild here is that of the ἐλαιουργοί, who also appear in 3738.

```
Καί[cα]ρο[c τὸ α΄, (month) λ΄.]

Φ[λ](αουίω) Λευκ[αδίω λογ](ιστῆ) ['Ο]ξ[(υρυγχίτου)]

[π]αρὰ τ[ο]ῦ κ[οινο]ῦ τῶν

ἐλαιουργῶν τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) 'Οξ(υρυγχιτῶν)

πόλεως δι' ἐμοῦ Αὐρηλίου
.....τι. ατος.
προσφωνῶ τὴν ἑξῆς
ἐνγεγρ(αμμένην) τιμὴν ὧν χιρίζω
ὧνίων καὶ ὀμνύω τὸν

10 θεῖον ὅρκον μηδὲν διε-
ψεῦσθαι. ἔςτι δέ·
λαχανοςπέρμου
(ἀρτάβης) α τάλ(αντα) ιε.
```

 $2 \phi[\lambda]'$  4 λαμοξ'  $8 \epsilon \nu \gamma \epsilon \gamma \rho \int$   $13 \div ?$   $\tau a \lambda'$   $15 \pi \rho o^{\kappa}$   $16 a \nu \rho \int$ ,  $\epsilon \gamma \rho \int v$ 

(2 ff.) 'To Flavius Leucadius, curator of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the oil-workers of the illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through me Aurelius . . . son of . . . . I declare the price entered below for the goods which I handle, and I swear the divine oath that I have been deceitful in nothing. As follows:

'Vegetable seed 1 art. tal. 15.'

(m. 2) 'I, Aurelius . . ., presented this as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Dionysius, wrote on his behalf as he is illiterate.'

The date is restored as the end of the consular formula for 326, for which see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* 109; but the restoration is very conjectural, see the introd. above.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1 n. and the introd. above. For Flavius Leucadius, *curator*, see Appendix I below. He was certainly in office for much of 326 so that this text as it stands can add nothing to our knowledge of his term of office.

 $_{4^{-}5}$  τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) ' $O\xi(\upsilon ρυγχιτῶν)$  πόλεως. Cf. 3748  $7\,\mathrm{n}.$ 

6 This line is a subsequent insertion in a ready prepared text, but by the same hand; the space above and below it is less than elsewhere in the text.

12 λαχανος πέρμου. For ἔλαιον (cf. 4 ἐλαιουργῶν) = vegetable oil see LI 3639 10-11 n. and 3738 5-6 n.

### 3761. DECLARATION OF PRICES

See the introduction above to 3760-3 for general comments on this roll. The guild here is identified as that of the  $d\rho\tau\nu\mu\alpha\tau\sigma\pi\hat{\omega}\lambda\alpha\iota$  by comparison with the sequence 3738-40 where the items declared by the  $d\rho\tau\nu\mu\alpha\tau\sigma\pi\hat{\omega}\lambda\alpha\iota$  (3739) are lost but total the same number as here and are likewise preceded by the declaration of the  $d\alpha\iota\nu\rho\gamma\sigma\iota$  (3738) and followed by that of the  $\kappa\alpha\eta\lambda\sigma\iota$  (3740). Note also 3765 1-4, where the last two items declared here are likewise followed by the items declared by the  $\kappa\alpha\eta\lambda\sigma\iota$  (3740, 3762).

```
[...].[
                   τιμήν ών [
                   καὶ ὀμνυ[
                   κον μηδ [έν
                                     ἔςτ[ι δέ·
          5
                   cηcάμο[υ
                  μελανθίου [
                  κόρου ξηρ οῦ
                  οριγάνου [
                                                   ]...[
                  ςινάπεως [ (ἀρτάβης) α?] τ[ά]λ(αντα)
        10
                                                                                                \eta
                  \mu \dots [,] (d\rho \tau \acute{\alpha} \beta \eta c?) \alpha [\tau \acute{\alpha}] \lambda (\alpha \nu \tau \alpha)
                                                                                                δ
                  κνήκου (ἀρτάβης?) ατ[ά]λ[(αντα)]
                  φάβατος (ἀρτάβης) α τάλ(αντα)
                  κυμίνου (ἀρτάβης) α τ[ά]λ(αντα)
        14
                                                                                               η
(m. 2) \quad A \mathring{v}_{\rho}(\acute{\eta} λιος) \quad H_{\rho} \alpha \kappa \lambda \mathring{\eta}[c] \, \mathring{\epsilon} \pi[\iota] \delta \acute{\epsilon} \delta \omega \kappa \alpha \, \pi_{\rho}(oc\phi \omega \nu \hat{\omega} \nu)
             ώς πρόκ(\epsilon \iota \tau a \iota). A \mathring{v} \rho (\mathring{\eta} \lambda \iota o \epsilon) Θέων ἔγρ(a \rlap/\psi a) \mathring{v} (\pi \grave{\epsilon} \rho) a \mathring{v} \tau o \hat{v}
                                                                     γρ(άμματα) μη εἰ[(δότος)].
```

<sup>8</sup> l. κορίου 13-14  $\div$ ? See 11-14 n.  $\tau \alpha \lambda'$ ; so presumably in 10-12 15  $\alpha \nu \rho f$ ,  $\pi \rho f$ 

<sup>6</sup> cητάμο[υ, 'sesame'. M. Schnebel, Die Landwirtschaft 197-200.

<sup>7</sup> μελανθίου, 'black cummin'. Schnebel, op. cit. 205-6.

<sup>8</sup> κόρου (l. κορίου) ξηρ[οῦ, 'dried coriander'. Cf. P. Teb. II 314. 17–18 κορέου ξηρο[ $\hat{v}$ ], and Schnebel, op. cit. 207.

<sup>9</sup> The traces exclude 'Ηρακλεωτικ-, λευκ-, μελ-, cf. LSJ s.v. ὀρίγανον.

<sup>10</sup> ςινάπεως, 'mustard'. The reading is uncertain, especially initial sigma. See Schnebel, op. cit. 205.

<sup>11-14</sup> Note the app. crit. on the abbreviation for ἀρτάβης in 13-14, which actually appears more as a straight horizontal without (apparently) benefit of a dot. That the items in 13-14 were measured by the artaba is shown by 3765 1-2. The unit in 12 is not certainly the artaba, and 11 is even more uncertain. That one item declared by this guild was differently measured is shown by 3739 18.

- 11 μήκωνος (cf. Schnebel, op. cit. 206) cannot be read.
- 12 κνήκου, 'safflower'. Schnebel, op. cit. 202; BGU XV 2484. 4 n.
- 13 φάβατος, 'beans': cf. §1. 9-10 of the Price Edict ed. Giacchero, with Lauffer's commentary, Diokletians Preisedikt p. 215.
  - 14 κυμίνου, 'cummin'. Schnebel, op. cit. 205-6.
  - 16 For Aurelius Theon see Appendix IV below.

(m.

15, 16

### 3762. Declaration of Prices

See the introduction above to 3760-3 for general comments on this roll. The surface here has suffered severe abrasion, especially at the top. The guild here is that of the  $\kappa \acute{a}\pi\eta\lambda o\iota$ , who recur—likewise preceded by the  $\emph{d}\rho\tau\nu\mu\dot{a}\tau\sigma\pi\hat{\omega}\lambda\alpha\iota$ —in 3740. Cf. also 3765 3-4.

	[ c. 16 ][
	[ c. 16 ][
	[
	[
5	[παρὰ τοῦ κ]ο̞ι̞ν̞ο̞ῦ [τ]ῶν καπ[ήλων]
	[][
	[][
	[].μου καὶ[
	προςφωνῶ τὴ[ν έξῆς]
10	<u>ἐγχεγραμμένην τ[ιμὴν]</u>
	ῷν [χιρί]ζω ἀνίω[ν καὶ] ὀ-
	μνήω τὸν θεῖ[ον ὄ]ρκον
	μηδὲν διεψεῦςθαι.
	<i>ἔ</i> cτι δέ·
15	οἴν[ο]υ 'Οαςιτικοῦ (ξέςτου) ᾳ (δηνάρια) ψ
	κν[ι]δίου Θηβαικοῦ (ξέςτου) $\alpha$ (δηνάρια) $\tau[o]$ ε
. 2)	Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἄμμων προςφ(ωνῶ) ὡς πρόκ(ειται).
/	$A\mathring{v} ho(\mathring{\eta}\lambda\iota\circ\epsilon)$ ' $\Omega ho(\mathring{\omega}v\ \check{\epsilon}\gamma ho(\alpha\psilpha)\ \mathring{v}(\pi\grave{\epsilon} ho)\ a\mathring{v} au\circ\hat{v}$
	γρ(άμματα) μὴ εἰδ(ότος).
	2
$\times$	17 προς $\phi'$ , προ <sup>κ</sup> 18 εγρ $f_0$ ) 19 γρ $f_0$ , ει <sup>δ</sup>

(5 ff.)... from the guild of the tavern-keepers . . . I declare the price entered below for the goods which I handle and I swear the divine oath that I have been deceitful in nothing. As follows:

'Oasite wine 1 sextarius den. 400 'Theban (wine) of Cnidian type 1 sextarius den. 375(?).'

(m. 2) 'I, Aurelius Ammon, declare as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Horion, wrote on his behalf as he is illiterate.'

1-4 Cf. 3760 1-2 and the introd, there and 1 n. If the reconstruction of that text is correct, then since the declarations in the roll will follow the same initial format 1 here should be the top line, 1 3 preserve the consular date followed by month and day, and 4 the address to the logistes. But none of this can be confirmed from the exiguous remains.

5 καπ[ήλων]. See **3740** 7 n.

- 6-8 λων of καπήλων may have run on to 6. Comparing 17 and 3760, these lines should run τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) 'Οξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλεως δι' ἐμοῦ Αὐρηλίου Άμμωνος followed by a patronymic; other such documents may have μηνιάρχου besides or in place of the patronymic. However, I have failed to equate this with the damaged traces. Letters read in 8 are difficult.
  - 15-16 Cf. 3740 16-17n.
  - 18 For Horion cf. Appendix IV below.

### **3763.** Declaration of Prices

See the introduction above to 3760-3 for general comments on this roll. Virtually nothing survives of this last declaration except part of the subscription, and that tells us nothing except that the guild was represented by a single declarant who was called Aurelius A- or Ha-. We print the text simply for completeness' sake and in case these scanty remains might somehow help in establishing the continued guild sequence. For a possible identity see 3 n.

> Αὐρήλιος Α[ (m. 2)*ἐπιδέδωκ*[α ώς πρόκ(ειται). Αὐρήλ[ιος ἔγραψα ύπὲρ τοῦ [ μένο[υ] τὰς ὄψις [ 10 1. ὄψεις 9 ϋπερ

 $8 \pi \rho o^{\kappa}$ 

<sup>3</sup> Tentatively, the traces could be ομ[, i.e. ομ[νου 'Οξυρυγχιτικού, from the guild that follows the κάπηλοι (3762) in the extracted sequence of items in 3765 (5-7 together, probably; the items declared by the κάπηλοι are in 3-4).

<sup>9-10</sup> E.g.  $\beta \epsilon \beta \lambda \alpha \mu \mu \epsilon \nu \rho [v]$ .

#### 3764. Proceedings

70/16 bis (a) +71/51 (b) 25.5 × 31.5 cm c. 326

The back of the roll of price-declarations of which 3732-5 are preserved has been used to record proceedings; we have here 13 lines from the end of one case and 12 lines from the beginning of the next. Curiously, the logistes seems not to have been the presiding official (the declarations came into his bureau, admittedly fourteen years earlier); the second case here is held before a  $\delta\iota a\iota\tau\eta\tau\dot{\eta}c$ , a delegated arbitrator, who was an otherwise unrecorded member of the Oxyrhynchite council. The presiding official in the first case must be identified at 7, but I have failed so far to read the title, see n.

The first case (8) provides our second reference to Ti. Flavius Laetus, praefectus Aegypti (cf. LI 3620), which gives us an approximate date for the hearings (they were both held on the same day, 14).

The details in each case are far from clear. The first appears to concern the disputed ownership of some property and the rents payable for its occupation, perhaps to a girl minor. The prefect had pronounced conditionally in favour of the minor, but the presiding official here defers a decision until he has more information at his disposal. The second case hinges on the non-appearance of one of the parties and the possibility of a judgment by default (cf. 3759). The arbitrator seems ill-informed (23) of the details of his own position.

τεγανόμια παρεςχηκότων τῆ παιδὶ ὁ μὲν Ἱέραξ διεβεβαιώςατο [ἐ]πὶ χρόνον ὠκηκέναι, στεγανόμια δὲ παρεςχηκέναι
Θαήσει τινί· ὁ δὲ Θώνιος ἐν τάξει κηδεμόνος φαίνεται ἑςτηκώς.
ἄμμώνιος ῥ(ήτωρ) εἶ(πεν)· ἡμεῖς ἐπριάμεθα τὸ οἰκόπεδον· δειξάτω βία[ν.] ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἐδίχθη [τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ] 'ῷν ἐδίδαξαν τὸ μεγαλεῖον τοῦ ' κυρίου μου . 'διασημ(οτάτου) ' ἐπάρχου [πεπραγμένων] `τῆς Αἰγύπτου '. /. [.]... [. εἶ](πεν)· ἐπειδὴ προςέταξεν ὁ κύριός μου διασημότατος ἔπαρχος τῆς Αἰγύπτου Φλάουιος Λαῖτος εἰ ε[ῦ]ρεθείη ἡ παῖς ἐκ συμφών[ου] ἐκβληθεῖςα [...] τῆς οἰκεία[ς] ταὐτην εἰςάξαι εἰς τὴν νομήν, ἐπεὶ τ..... τουτ[1-2]. [.]. προγενομενο[. κ]αὶ ἔτερά τινα δίκαια περὶ δεςποτίας ἀμφότερα μέρη κατέθετο, ἔτι τ[ῶ]ν χρόνων ἐγδιδόντων δύναςθ[αι] ε α.... τω[.] ἀναδιδάξαι καὶ ὅρου τυχεῖν [παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας]
[μετριότητος].

2  $\ddot{\iota}$ εραξ? 6 ἀλλ' added in margin; l. ἐδείχθη; διασημf 9 l. οἰκίας 10 ]. [: a long descender  $(\iota, \rho, \phi, \text{ or } \psi$ ?)

25

τῆ αὐτῆ ἡμέρα, πρὸς τῷ Αδριανίω. ἐπὶ παρόντων Παύλου προςθυρέου, έπὶ Ἀςκληπ[ιά]δο[υ] Διονυςοδώρου β[ο]υλ(ευτοῦ) διαιτητοῦ. 15 Άμμώνιος ρ(ήτωρ) εἶ(πεν). 'Ωριγένης πρὸς ἀντιδίκους Άρτεμιδώραν καὶ νόμους E [ 3–4 ], ου. ώς μὲν δι $\left[ αιτητης ε \tilde{t} \right]$  ήμ $\hat{t}$ ν αἰρουμένοις καὶ τοῖς άντιδίκοις τοῦτο οὐ μόνον διδάςκει ὁ παρὼ[ν] λόγος ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐπιστάλματα τοῦ γωτάτου π[ρυ]τάνεως πε...[.].. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας [κα] θ' ήν ε[π] εςτάλης ζήμερον χρόνοι πληροῦνται, διὰ τοῦτο πάρες [μεν] [ά]ξιοῦντες ἐπιςημήναςθαι μὲν τὴν ἀπόλιψιν τὴν τῶν ἀντιδί[κων], cυνχωρής αι δè ήμιν τὰ αἴτια τῆς ὑποθές εως εἰπείν. /ὁ διαιτητής εἶ(πεν): δείξον πότε ἐπεςτάλην διαιτητής γενέςθαι ὑμῶν.  $[Aμμώνι]ος \dot{\rho}(\dot{\eta}τωρ) εἶ(πεν) · κατὰ τὴν κη ΄ τοῦ Χοιὰκ μηνὸς ἐπεςτάλης$ ], [ c. 10 ],...[,.] $\eta$ ,... $\epsilon\epsilon$ [ c. 7 ]

14 l. Άδριανείω, παρόντος, προεθυραίου 15  $\beta[o]v^{\lambda}$  20-1 Ends of lines obscured by ink-blots 21 Ι. ἀπόλειψιν

"... (of?) those who have paid rents to the girl, Hierax on the one hand confirmed that he had lived there for some time but paid the rents to one Thaesis; Thonius on the other hand is here present in court in his capacity as guardian." Ammonius, advocate, said, "We bought the property; let him prove violence. But none of the story they told the Highness of my lord the prefect of Egypt, vir perfectissimus, was proved." [The?] . . . said, "Since my lord the prefect of Egypt, Flavius Laetus, vir perfectissimus, instructed that if the girl should be found to have been indisputably thrown out of the house she should be installed in possession, (and?) since ... and both sides have put forward further claims regarding ownership, you may, since the time still admits of it, . . . inform (me?) and obtain a ruling."

(14ff.) 'On the same day, at the Hadrianeum. In the presence of Paul, doorkeeper; before Asclepiades son of Dionysodorus, councillor, arbitrator. Ammonius, advocate, said, "(My client is) Horigenes against his adversaries Artemidora and the heirs of . . . That you are the arbitrator whom we and our adversaries chose not only the present discussion tells us but so also the instructions of the most respected prytanis . . . Since from that day on which you were appointed today the time is up, for this reason we are present requesting that you take note of the default of our adversaries, and that you allow us to state the origins of the suit." The arbitrator said, "Show when I was appointed to be your arbitrator." Ammonius, advocate, said, "On the 23rd of the month of Choiak you were appointed . . . '

6 τὸ μεγαλείον. Cf. CPR V 12. 4 and n.

7 This must be the title or possibly the name of the presiding official at the beginning of the line, but I have failed to read it. At any rate the reading is not  $\delta \lambda o \gamma \iota c \tau \dot{\eta} c \epsilon \tilde{t} (\pi \epsilon \nu)$ .

8 Ti. Flavius Laetus was known as prefect of Egypt on 2 February 326 (LI 3620). His predecessor Flavius Magnus was still in office on 2 October 325 (3759); his next known successor Septimius Zenius was in office in Oct./Nov. 327 (P. Harr. II 215 recto). See BASP 22 (1985) 25-7 for another prefect in this period.

9 τοίνυν would suit very well at the end but it leaves us without a connective.

14 Άδριανίω . . . προςθυρέου (l. Άδριανείω, προςθυραίου). For the doorkeepers of the prison in the

Hadrianeum cf. L 3576 18-19 n. There are now several items of evidence to support προεθυραίος; προεθυρεύς may well not exist. For the ἐπὶ παρόντων formula cf. 3758 156-8 n. The formulaic plural is inappropriate here. 16-17 'Ωριγένης κτλ. For 'statements of client' of this type cf. 3758 41 n.

18-19 ἀξιολογωτάτου. See H. Geremek, JJP 16-17 (1971) 162-4.

24 Choiak 23 = 19 December (the year can really only be 325 or 326, so that leap-year calculations are irrelevant). There are no grounds for linking the prefecture of Laetus (8) with this date.

# 3765. Summary of Prices Declared; and Declaration of Prices by the Guild of Goldsmiths

3 1B.77/B(7)a  $76.5 \times 8 \text{ cm}$  c. 327

This text is without parallel in this archive or elsewhere. Four fragments combine into a long strip from the top edge of a roll and preserve the tops of seven columns. The seventh column is the beginning of the declaration by the goldsmiths (cf. 3768) to the logistes Flavius Thannyras (see 49n. and Appendix I below) previously known only from I 83 and 83a (16 January 327). The six preceding columns have extracted the items and prices declared in such declarations, arranged in no immediately discernible order and with no divisions between the guilds. Prices are in the same hand as the items; there is some evidence of in-filling (blacker ink in cols. ii, iii, vi) but this is not consistent. Apart from the loss of an unknown number of columns at the beginning with yet more extracted items and prices, I believe that we have the beginning of a roll of declarations; that the declaration of the goldsmiths came first in the series, and that it was prefaced either by a summary of the items and prices declared the previous month, or (if prices were inserted) by the items and current prices extracted from the declarations that immediately followed.

The summarized items and prices can be compared in some six places with items and prices in our complete declarations. The two clearest and best-preserved passages are both echoed in declarations of a couple of years or so later: with 18–23 cf. P. Harr. I 73 ii (re-ed. ZPE 37 (1980) 231) and with 32–40 cf. XXXI 2570 iii republished below as 3766 v. The comparison enables us further to revise the text of P. Harr. 73 (see below, 21 n.). The later prices generally show an increase, varying up to 300% (18, cf. 23), but in one instance (33) there is no change and in another (35) the price two years later was lower! Also with 1–2 cf. 3761 13–14; with 3–4 cf. 3740 16–17 and 3762 15–16; with 9–11 perhaps cf. 3753 17–19 (and therefore possibly with 8 cf. 3752 19); with 12–15 cf. 3776 15–19 and LI 3626 16–20.

I have suggested in  $\angle PE$  39 (1980) 115 that, whatever the original basis for the order of the guilds, the declarations would be drawn up by copying the previous month's roll. They should thus preserve a consistent order, and it would be reasonable to suppose that 3765's extracts follow this same order. That this is to a certain extent so is shown by 1-4, which follow the order of 3739-40 and 3761-2, and 8-11, which may tally with 3752-3. This information in turn may justify the use of 3765 as a vital factor in creating

the framework for the sequence of guilds proposed in Appendix II below. (The item in 16, priced at 80 tal., should on this basis be the same item that recurs in P. Harr. 73. 20 as re-edited in ZPE 37 (1980) 231, apparently only 1,000 den. a couple of years or so later. Although some prices might drop (cf. 35), this is inconceivable; the answer might be that a figure in talents preceded the denarii in P. Harr. 73. 20. P. Harr. 73 i may on the other hand be a different guild, declaring at least two (ll. 20–1) and possibly more different items; but in 3765, 16–17 (plus more preceding, lost?) surely belong together, and inasmuch as they are dyestuffs they naturally adjoin 18–23, declared by the  $\beta \alpha \phi \epsilon \hat{\iota} c$ ; see P. Harr. 73 as re-edited.)

Written along the fibres; the text is not a  $\tau \delta \mu o c \ c \nu \gamma \kappa o \lambda \lambda \dot{\eta} c \iota \mu o c$ . Visible kollemawidths are 22 cm, 20 cm, and 18.5 cm. There is no kollesis between cols. vi and vii. The back is blank.

		col. i	
	φάβατος	$(\dot{a} ho au\dot{a}eta\eta\epsilon)$ $a$	τάλ(αντα) ς
	κυ[μί]νου	$(\dot{a} ho au\dot{a}eta\eta\epsilon)$ $a$	$ aulpha\lambda(a u au a)$ $\eta$
	οἴνου 'Ο̞α̞ς̞ιτικοῦ	$\xi(\epsilon' c  au o v) = a$	(δηνάρια) φ
	κνιδίου Θηβαϊκ $[o]\hat{v}$	$\xi(\epsilon' c  au o v) = a$	(δηνάρια) τος
5	οἴνου 'Οξυρυγχ[ιτικοῦ]	$\xi(\epsilon\epsilon\tau ov)$ a	(δηνάρια) τος
	ὄξους ' $O$ ξυρυγχ $[ι auικο]\hat{v}$	$\xi(\epsilon' c \tau o v) \alpha$	(δηνάρια) τ
	[].[ 'Ο]ξυρυ[γχιτικ-?		]

```
col. ii
       ύποδεεςτέρων χωρικῶν λί(τρας) α
                                                                             (δηνάρια) φ
       cτιππίου τὸ δεςμίδιον α΄ ἄγον δλκ(η̂c) μ(να̂c) ε
         τοῦ μὲν ἐξόχο[υ]
                                                                             τάλ(αντα) β (δηνάρια) ψυ
10
         τοῦ δὲ κοινοῦ
                                                                             τάλ(αντα) β
       δθόνης παντοίας δελματικ(ŵν) ταρςι-
         κῶν γυναικ (είων) α εἰδέας ζ (εύγους) α
                                                                           τάλ(αντα) μ
                                               [\zeta(\epsilon \acute{v}\gamma o v \epsilon) \ a]
         βείδέας
                                                                          	au \dot{\alpha} [\lambda(a \nu 	au a)] \dot{\lambda} (\delta \eta \nu \dot{\alpha} \rho \iota a?) \dots
          [\gamma \epsilon i] \delta \epsilon a \epsilon
15
  ι --, ταλ΄
                                   6 \times ?
                                                  8 \lambda \qquad 9 o \lambda^{\kappa} \mu f
                                                                              12 δελματι<sup>κ</sup>
                                                                                                        13 yuvaiK
```

```
col. iii
                                                      \lambda i(\tau \rho a \epsilon) a
          N_{i\kappa\alpha\ddot{i}\nu\hat{\eta}}[c]
                                                                               τάλ(αντα) π
                                                      \lambda i(\tau \rho a c) a
          \hat{\rho}_i \zeta \epsilon i \nu [\eta] c
                                                                               τάλ(αντα) χ
          \pi \circ \rho \phi \psi \rho \alpha \{c \in \mathbb{Z} | \nu \tau \circ \pi (i \circ v) \mid \lambda i (\tau \rho \alpha c) \mid \alpha \}
                                                                               τάλ(αντα) β
                                                                               τάλ(αντα) η
          κοκκίνου α
                                                      \lambda i(\tau \rho a \epsilon) a
          β κοκκίνου
                                                      \lambda i(\tau \rho a c) a
                                                                               τάλ(αντα) β
20
          ςανδυκίνου καὶ χλωροῦ καὶ
               καλλαΐνων καὶ τῷ[ν . ] . . [ . ] . . ΄λί(τρας) α τάλ(αντον) α (δηνάρια) . [
                                                                               τάλ(αντον) α [
          ροδίνου
                                                      \lambda i(\tau \rho a \epsilon) a
                                                               col. iv
                                                                               \tau \dot{a} \lambda [(a \nu \tau a)] c
          θηλιῶν ὁμοίως (πρωτο)βόλου
               (δευτερο)βόλου
                                                                                τάλ(αντα) ρν
25
               τελείας
                                                                                τάλ(αντα) ρ
           ταύρου τελείου
                                                                                τάλ(αντα) ςλ
               ύποδεεςτέρου
                                                                                τάλ(αντα) ς
               κρέως μοςχ[ε]ί[ο]ψ
                                                       \lambda i(\tau \rho a c) a
                                                                                (\delta \eta \nu \acute{a} \rho \iota a?)
               βόας τελείας
                                                                                τάλ(αντα) ρ
30
                                                                               \tau \dot{\alpha} [\lambda(\alpha \nu \tau - )]
                [,]..[..].....
                                                                col. v
                                                                                τάλ(αντα) δ
           cτύρακος ἐλαφροῦ
                                                       \lambda i(\tau \rho a \epsilon) a
                                                      [\lambda]i(\tau\rho\alpha\epsilon)[\alpha \tau \dot{\alpha}]\lambda(\alpha\nu\tau\alpha) 5
           κόςτου
                                                       \lambda i(\tau \rho a \epsilon) a \left[\tau \dot{a} \lambda(a \nu \tau a)\right] \delta
           μαςτίκης
                                                       \lambda[i(\tau\rho\alpha\epsilon)] \alpha [\tau\acute{a}\lambda(\alpha\nu\tau\alpha)] \eta
           άμμώμου
 35
                                                                                \tau [\acute{a}\lambda(a\nu\tau a)] \epsilon
                                                       \lambda i(\tau \rho a \epsilon) a
           \beta\delta\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta[c]
                                                                                \tau \acute{a}\lambda (a\nu\tau a) 5
           καςίας
                                                       \lambda i(\tau \rho a \epsilon) a
                                                                                τάλ(αντον) α (δηνάρια) φ
                                                       \lambda i(\tau \rho a c) a
           καςάμο[υ]
                                                       \lambda i(\tau \rho a \epsilon) a
           ψιμιτ[ίου]
 40
```

16 νικαϊνης 17 l.  $\dot{\rho}$ ιζίνης 18 εντοπ΄ 24 l.  $\theta\eta\lambda$ ειῶν; αβολου 25 β βολου 29 Beginning of κρέως corr.?  $\div$ ? 30 l. βοός 31 Only occasional ink spots survive of the item in this line 32 An unexplained mark in the upper margin above the beginning of this line 34 l.  $\mu$ αςτίχης 35 l.  $\dot{\alpha}$ μώμου 39 l.  $\psi$ ιμυθίου

col. vi ύποδεεςτέρας τάλ(αντα) κ βοΐνης τελείας τάλ(αντα) κ ύποδεεςτέρας  $[\tau \acute{a}]\lambda(a\nu\tau a)$   $\iota\epsilon$ αίγίου τελείου τάλ(αντα) δ ύπ[οδε]εςτέρας τάλ(αντα) β 45 προβατίου τελείου τάλ(αντα) β ύπο [δεεςτ] έ [ρου  $\tau \dot{\alpha} \lambda (a\nu \tau o \nu) a$ ...[ c. 9 ].[ col. vii Φλαουίω Θαν[ν]υρά (m. 2)λογιςτή 'Οξυρυγχίτου παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν χρυςοχόων τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ[(προτάτης) 'Ο]ξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλεως δι' ἡμ[ῶ]ν τῶν μηνιαρχ[ῶν Α]ὐρηλίων (m.3)Άμμωνί[ο] ν καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ c. 15 44 Ι. αἰγείου 45 Ι. ύποδεεςτέρου 46 Ι. προβατείου  $52 \lambda \alpha \mu f$   $53 [o] \xi'$ (I 7) 'Beans tal. 6 ı art. 'Cummin tal. 8 ı art. 'Oasite wine 1 sextarius den. 500 'Theban (wine) of Cnidian type 1 sextarius den. 375 'Oxyrhynchite wine 1 sextarius den. 375 'Oxyrhynchite cheap wine 1 sextarius den. 300 'Oxyrhynchite(?) [ ] (8 - 15)'Inferior, local пlb. den. 500 'Tow, per single bundle having a weight of 5 minas, superior quality tal. 2 den. 750

tal. 2

tal. 40

tal. 30(?) den.?...

standard quality

1st quality

2nd quality

3rd quality

'Linen of all kinds: ladies' Tarsian sleeved tunics,

ı pr.

[1 pr.]

```
(16-23)
          'Nicaean (purple)
                                    ı lb.
                                                  tal. 80
          'Root (purple)
                                    ı lb.
                                                  tal. 3
          'Local purple
                                    ı lb.
                                                  tal. 2
          'Scarlet, 1st grade
                                    ı lb.
                                                  tal. 8
          '2nd grade scarlet
                                    пlb.
                                                  tal. 2
          'Bright red, and yellow orpiment(?), and
               blue-green and . . . 1 lb.
                                                  tal. 1 den....
          'Pink
                                     ı lb.
                                                  tal. I
          'Females likewise: at 1st tooth-change tal. 200
(24-31)
               at 2nd tooth-change
                                                  tal. 150
               full-grown
                                                  tal. 100
          'Bull, full-grown
                                                  tal. 230
               inferior
                                                  tal. 200
          'Veal
                                     ı lb.
                                                  den.? . . .
          'Cow, full-grown
                                                  tal. 100
               inferior(?)
                                                  tal. [ ]
          'Storax, dwarf
                                     ı lb.
                                                  tal. 4
(32-40)
           'Costmary
                                     пlb.
                                                  tal. 6
           'Mastic
                                     ı lb.
                                                  tal. 4
           'Amomum
                                     ı lb.
                                                  tal. 8
          'Bdellium
                                     ı lb.
                                                  tal. 5
          'Cassia
                                     ı lb.
                                                  tal. 6
          'Cassamum
                                     ı lb.
                                                  tal. 1 den. 500(?)
           'White lead
                                     иlb.
                'inferior
(41-8)
                                                  tal. 20
           'Oxhide, from a full-grown animal
                                                  tal. 20
                inferior
                                                  tal. 15
           'Goatskin, from a full-grown animal tal. 4
               inferior
                                                  tal. 2
           'Sheepskin, from a full-grown animal tal. 2
               inferior
           ·...[
```

(49 ff.) (m. 2) 'To Flavius Thannyras, curator of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the goldsmiths of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through us the monthly presidents Aurelii' (m. 3) 'Ammonius and his brother...'

1 2 Cf. 3761 13 14.

3  $\xi(\epsilon c \tau o v)$ . For the form of the abbreviation see 3740 16–17 n.

3 4 Cf. **3740** 16-17n.

5 On Oxyrhynchite wine note 3740 7 n.

8 Perhaps linen, cf. 3752 19 and the introd. above, and n. 16 on Appendix III below.

9-11 These items will perhaps derive from a declaration by the *cτιπποχειριcταί*, despite the variant wording in 3753, our sole declaration by them. The third grade (ὑποδεεςτέρων χωρικῶν there) is absent here, by accident or design. For conversion from minas to pounds see D. W. Rathbone, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 267; 5 minas = 5.20833 lb.

12-15 Cf. 3776 15-19, and also LI 3626 16 20.

13  $\zeta(\epsilon \acute{\nu}\gamma o \nu c)$ . Cf. 3776 17n. The abbreviation is a zeta with an oblique stroke rising to the right at a shallow angle to cut the lower horizontal.

14 The reading of the price is very uncertain.

16-17 On these two items cf. the introd. above. The two adjectives, without further specification, will

surely derive from the declaration of one guild. The price-difference between the two items is notable. For dyestuffs in general see H. Dürbeck, Zur Charakteristik der griechischen Farbenbezeichnungen (Bonn, 1977).

Nικαϊνη[ε]. I presume this is the same as πορφύρας Nεικαηνης κοκκηράς of the Price Edict, §24. 8 ed. Giacchero. For the spelling cf. Nεικαϊνης of the Megara IV copy, reported in Lauffer's apparatus. The high price compared with the dyestuffs following is appropriate for a genuine import. Lauffer's edition gives a bibliography for the type, p. 271; Nικαεινης πορφύρας also in P. Strasb. 131. 7.

For ριζείνης cf. P. Holm. 26. 28 (now re-ed. R. Halleux, Les Alchim. grecs i (1981)) and P. Strasb. 131. 6, 8. I. Andorlini, in M. Manfredi et al., Trenta testi greci (editi in occ. del XVII Congr. int. di Pap.) (Florence, 1983) 18. 24 n., supposes equivalence with πορφύρα ἐντόπιος in P. Harr. I 73. 40 (re-ed. R. A. Coles, ZPE 37 (1980) 231), but the lower price for the latter in the next line here (18) implies a distinction between the two grades.

For purple see also G. H. R. Horsley, New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity iii (1983) 53-4.

18-23 Cf. the declaration of the βαφεῖς, P. Harr. 73 re-ed. R. A. Coles, op. cit. The numismatic information in R. S. Bagnall, Currency and Inflation in Fourth-century Egypt (BASP suppl. 5 (1985)) 37 could suggest that P. Harr. 73 will date not earlier than 330; on the other hand, the modest increase in the price of first-grade κόκκινος (cf. the table in Appendix III below) does not well accord with this.

18 πορφύρα[ε]. Cf. M. Manfredi et al., op. cit. 18. 24 n.

19-20 κοκκίνου. Cf. M. Manfredi et al., op. cit. 18. 26 n.; P. Laur. III 82. 2 n.

20 β κοκκίνου. This confirms the reading of the less legible parallel passage in P. Harr. 73. 42 (as re-ed. loc. cit.).

21 caνδυκίνου will presumably be the word I could not read at the beginning of P. Harr. 73. 43 (as re-ed.

loc. cit.). Cf. P. Laur. III 82. 4 n.; M. Manfredi et al., op. cit. 19. 7 n.

χλωροῦ. Cf. M. Manfredi et al., op. cit. 18. 25 n. An identification with trisulphide of arsenic (ZPE 37 (1980) 234) may not be correct: Miss Gillian Eastwood informs me that textile dyes should be organic. (ἀρεενικόν nevertheless features in two dye recipes, Halleux, op. cit. 150 with p. 204 n. Thphr. Lap. 51 refers to painters' pigments, not dyestuffs (rejecting with Eichholz the reading βαφεῖε). The edition by Caley and Richards, Theophrastus on Stones pp. 171-2, has a useful note on ἀρεενικόν.)

22 καλλαΐνων. Note P. J. Sijpesteijn, ZPE 30 (1978) 233-4; M. Manfredi et al., op. cit. 18. 21 n. I cannot make out the last word of the substances listed in 21-2. cυγχρόων (cf. P. Harr. 73. 44 as re-ed. loc. cit.) must be a

likely candidate, but I cannot claim to see it.

24-30 For a revised version of the Price Edict's §30 (ed. Giacchero) see M. H. Crawford and J. M.

Reynolds, ZPE 34 (1979) 177-8 with commentary on pp. 198-9.

24–6 For the meaning of the terms  $(\pi\rho\omega\tau o)\beta\delta\lambda ov$  and  $(\delta\epsilon v\tau\epsilon\rho o)\beta\delta\lambda ov$  see CPR VI p. 20. Comparison with the Price Edict (§30, as revised, see 24–30 n. above) suggests that the animals listed here may be female donkeys. Both in the Edict and here the price is approximately on a par with that for bulls (230 tal. here, 27). The value of a female donkey reduces with age, presumably because of the reduced breeding potential. However, the fourth-century donkey prices listed by R. S. Bagnall, op. cit. (18–23 n. above) 67–8 have reached nowhere near 3765's prices ( $\epsilon$ . 327) by 331, the latest example he lists (40 tal.), and it may be that horses are meant here, cf. his list of prices for them on p. 68.

29 For fourth-century meat prices see Bagnall, op. cit. 67.

31 One might guess ὑποδεεςτέρας came in this line, but the traces are too scanty for any indication.

32-40 For the commentary on these items declared by the  $\mu\nu\rho\sigma\pi\hat{\omega}\lambda\alpha\iota$  see 3766.

35 Not clear if  $a\mu\mu$ - or  $a\mu$ - was intended.

37 Initial  $\kappa$  oddly written; perhaps there has been a correction.

- 38 The denarius-figure is uncertain, but  $\psi$  is the only alternative to  $\phi$ ; if  $\psi$ , a trace to the right may be from a second letter, probably  $\nu$ .  $\phi$  (=  $\frac{1}{3}$  tal.) and  $\psi\nu$  (=  $\frac{1}{2}$  tal.) are likely quantities.
  - 40 Presumably caνδυκίου, cf. 3766 96, but I cannot claim to read it in the scattered and broken traces.
- 41–7 These entries must refer to hides. For the ox-hides the noun implied is  $\beta i \rho \epsilon \eta \epsilon$ , cf. § 8. 6a, 9 in the Price Edict (ed. Giacchero); for the other hides the noun is  $\delta \epsilon \rho \mu a \tau o \epsilon$ . The feminine ending in 45 must be an error.
- 49 The curator's name: the sole alleged evidence for the spelling Thennyras is I 83 with its duplicate 83a. The original of 83 is missing and I have no photograph; the name is awkwardly written in 83a but alpha seems preferable to epsilon.
- 52 We may conclude from 3773 (see the introd. to that text) that the goldsmiths declared the price of the gold solidus (cf. 3768 introd.).

# 3766. Declarations of Prices

4 iB. 76/3 (c) 27 October 329

Under this number we republish XXXI 2570 ii iii (here cols. iv v) together with a new joining fragment which completes 2570 i (here col. iii) and adds a further column before that (col. ii). There are extremely scanty traces of a yet further preceding column which we do not transcribe. The guilds now represented are the fish-merchants  $(i\chi\theta\nu\sigma\alpha\hat{\omega}\lambda\alpha\iota, \text{ col. ii})$ , the fullers ( $\kappa\nu\alpha\phi\epsilon\hat{\iota}c$ , col. iii), the potters of earthenware pottery ( $\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\mu\epsilon\hat{\iota}c$   $\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\mu\iota\kappa\hat{\iota}c$   $\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\mu\iota\kappa\hat{\iota}c$ 

The identification of the fish-merchants in col. ii supports the identification of this guild in PSI III 202 col. ii, proposed in ZPE 37 (1980) 230, since in both declarations what is declared is the price of  $i\chi\theta\dot{\nu}\omega\nu$  mantoiwn. Not enough survives to identify the guild of our col. i, unfortunately; the knowledge would have helped—one way or the other—with the problem of the order of the guilds, since in PSI 202 the  $\chi oiroimale \mu oiroimale \mu oiroimale value are still sole representatives, but documentation on the <math>\mu \nu \rho o \pi \hat{\omega} \lambda ai$  is accumulating: cf. 3731, 3733, and 3765. The surviving guilds in 3766 are arranged roughly alphabetically, but this may not be deliberate.

As regards col. iv, for pottery manufacture in Egypt see now H. M. Cockle,  $\mathcal{J}RS$  71 (1981) 87–97 with L **3595–7**.

The logistes to whom the declarations are addressed, Flavius Julianus, is known from several texts (see Appendix I below); this one is still the earliest evidence for his tenure. See 3755 27-8 n. regarding his family and probable earlier career.

Kolleseis occur between cols. i and ii and between cols. iv and v. This is fortuitous; the text is clearly not a  $\tau \acute{o}\mu oc$   $cv\gamma κολλ \acute{\eta} c\iota\mu oc$ . The kollema bearing ii -iv is approximately 20 cm wide (the visible width of the sheet).

Distinction of hands poses a problem, as often in these declarations. For the expected format in texts of this type see 3731 introd. As far as the preliminary drafting goes, there are frequent changes of style and one gets the impression that, at the minimum, the upper parts of the texts are due to one hand and the lower parts (generally,  $\pi\rho\sigma\phi\omega\nu$ - onwards) to another. As for the insertions, the prices in cols. ii and iv are added in a different hand. In cols. iii and v they are in the same hand as the draft; the single example in iii shows no sign of being a later insertion, but several of the prices in v are clearly so. As for the subscriptions, a hypographeus was employed in cols. iii-iv, Aurelius Horion. If he were responsible for the name-insertions (probable in col. ii, possible in col. v), he will have been a scribe in the logistes' bureau. See Appendix IV below. Insertion of the price in col. ii may be by his hand. The subscription in col. v could be an autograph; that in col. ii is too badly damaged to allow certainty, but may also be an autograph.

I have numbered the lines of the five columns continuously throughout. I do not repeat the inconvenient line-numbering of the ed. pr.

On the other side, along the fibres, is 3767. The new piece supplies the beginning of the report of proceedings, XXXI 2562, and the whole is now re-edited as 3767. The minimum interval before reuse of the declarations to take the obsolete proceedings on the back would be a month, the maximum interval thirteen months: see 3767 introd.

```
c. 11 ]. [ c. 7 ]
                         c. 14 ]. [ c. 4 ]
                                        ]....[ c. 3 ]
                        c. I2
                       c. 15 ].[.].[.]
               \ldots [ c. 8 \tau \hat{\omega}]\nu i \chi \theta \nu-
                οπωλ[\hat{\omega}]ν τ[\hat{\eta}]ς [\lambda a]μ[(πρ\hat{a}ε) κ]\hat{\alpha}ι λαμ(προτάτηε) '\hat{O}[\xi](υρυγχιτ\hat{\omega}ν)
                [....]..[...] A \mathring{v} 
ho(\eta \lambda \acute{\iota}ov)
                [....].[....] Παμούνιος
 (m. 2)
                \pi \rho o[c] \phi[\omega] v \hat{\omega} i \delta i \omega \tau \iota
(m. 1?)
                [μή]ματι τὴν έξης
                [έγ]γεγραμμένην τι-
                [\mu]\dot{\eta}\nu\ \dot{\epsilon}[\pi\dot{\iota}]\ \tau o\hat{\upsilon}\delta\epsilon\ \tau o\hat{\upsilon}
                μ[ηνὸς] ὧν χιρίζω ὧνί-
                ων καὶ [ό]μ[ν]ύω τ[ό] γ
                θείον ὅρ[κο]ν μηδὲν δι-
        15
                εψεῦςθ[αι. ἔς]τι δέ
                ί[χ]θύων παντοίων
                          \lambda i(\tau \rho a \epsilon) \alpha [(\delta \eta \nu a \rho i a)] (m. 2) \phi.
                    A\dot{v}\rho(\dot{\eta}\lambda\iota\circ\epsilon) ..... \dot{\epsilon}\iotapprox\eta\epsilon
 (m. 3)
                    [\ldots], [\ldots], [\ldots], [\ldots]
                     ...β[....] \epsilon \pi i \delta \epsilon [\delta] \omega-
                     κα π[ροc]φ(ωνων) ω[c] πρόκ(ειται).
                                                             col. iii
              [ύπατ] είας τῶν
 (m. 1)
                [\delta \epsilon c \pi o \tau] \hat{\omega} v \dot{\eta} \mu \hat{\omega} v
                [Κωνςταν]τίνου Αὐγούς [του]
                    6 λαμ
                                      7 αυρ": rewritten?
                                                                          9 ϊδιω
                                                                                        13 Ι. χειρίζω
                                                                                                                      17 ϊ[χ]θυων
                 19 aup '?
                                         22 \pi \rho o^{K?}
```

[τὸ η ' καὶ] Κωνεταντίνο[υ] [τοῦ ἐπιφ]ανεετάτου Καίεαρος [τὸ δ ',] Φαῶφι λ -. [Φλαου]ίω Ἰουλιανῶ λογ(ιετῆ) ἸΟξ(υρυγχίτου)

30 [παρ]ὰ τοῦ κο[ι]νοῦ τῶν κναφέ-[ω]ν τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) 'Οξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλεως [δι' ἡι]ῶν μηνισονών Αὐο(πλίων)

 $[\delta\iota\text{'}~\acute{\eta}\mu]\hat{\omega}\text{'}\nu~\mu\eta\nu\iota\alpha\rho\chi\hat{\omega}\nu~A\mathring{v}\rho(\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\nu)$ 

- 35 του Νείλου καὶ Θώνμ[ος ?Φι]λοξένου. (m. 1?) προςφωνοῦ[μ]εν ἰδίω τιμήμ[α]τι τὴν έξῆς ἐνγεγραμμένην τιμὴν ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ μη[νὸς ὧν]
- 40 χιρί[ζο]μεν ὧν[ίων] καὶ ὀμν[ύο]μ[εν τὸν θεῖο]ν ὄρκον μηδ[εν διε]ψεῦςθαι. [ἔςτι δ]έ·

νίτρου Αραβικοῦ κεν (τηναρίου) α (δηνάρια) (m. 1, added?) φ.

(m. 2)  $A \mathring{v} \rho(\mathring{\eta} \lambda \iota o \iota) \Gamma \epsilon \rho \mu a v \grave{o} c \kappa a \grave{\iota} Ca \rho a \pi \acute{\iota} \omega[v] \kappa a \grave{\iota}$   $\Theta \epsilon \acute{o} \gamma \nu \omega c \tau o c \kappa a \grave{\iota} \Theta \mathring{\omega} \nu \iota c \mathring{\epsilon} \pi \iota \delta \epsilon \delta \acute{\omega} \kappa a \mu \epsilon \nu \pi \rho o c \varphi(\omega \nu o \mathring{v} \nu \tau \epsilon c) \mathring{\omega} c \pi \rho \acute{o} \kappa(\epsilon \iota \tau a \iota) . A \mathring{v} \rho(\mathring{\eta} \lambda \iota o c) `\Omega \rho \acute{\iota} \omega[v]$   $\mathring{\epsilon} \gamma \rho(a \psi a) \mathring{v}(\pi \grave{\epsilon} \rho) a \mathring{v} \tau(\mathring{\omega} \nu) \gamma \rho(\acute{a} \mu \mu a \tau a) \mu \mathring{\eta} \epsilon \mathring{\iota} \mathring{\rho}(\acute{o} \tau \omega \nu) .$ 

col. iv

(m. 1) ψπατείας τῶν
50 δεςποτῶν ἡ[μῶν]

Κωνςταντίνου
Αὐγούςτου τὸ η΄ καὶ

Κωνςταντίνου τοῦ τοῦρος

ἐπιφανεςτάτου Καίς[α]ρος

55 τὸ δ΄, Φαῶφι λ<sup>-</sup>.
Φλαουίῳ Ἰουλιανῷ
λογιττῆ ἸΟξυρ[υγ]χίτου
παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν
κεραμέων κεραμικοῦ

60 [κ] εράμου τῆς λ[a]μ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) ' $O\xi$ (υρυγχιτῶν) [πό]λεως δι' ἐμοῦ  $A[\mathring{v}\rho](ηλίου)$ 

(m. 1, added?)  $\Delta \eta \mu \eta \tau \rho i \rho v [M] \epsilon \lambda \alpha [vo] c$ .

(m. 1?)  $\pi \rho o c \phi \omega v \hat{\omega} \ i \delta [i \omega] \ \tau i - \mu \dot{\eta} \mu \alpha \tau \iota \ \tau \dot{\eta} v \ \dot{\epsilon} \xi \hat{\eta} [c \ \dot{\epsilon}] v -$ 

65 γεγραμμένην [τιμήν] ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ [μηνὸ]c ὧν χιρίζω ὡ[νίων] καὶ ὀμνύω τὸν θεῖ[ον] ὅρκον μηδὲν διε-

70  $\psi \epsilon \hat{v} c \theta \alpha i$ .  $\epsilon c \tau i \delta \epsilon'$   $\pi i c c \eta c \xi \eta \rho \hat{a} c \zeta i \rho i \tau i \kappa \hat{\eta} c \kappa \epsilon \nu (\tau \eta \nu \alpha \rho i o v) \alpha \tau \dot{a} \lambda (\alpha \nu \tau \alpha) \text{ (m. ?, added) } \gamma$ 

(m. 1?)  $T
ho\omega a\delta[\eta]$ ςίας  $\kappa\epsilon[
u](\tau\eta
u a
ho'ov)$  [a

(m. 2)  $A \mathring{v} \rho ( \acute{\eta} \lambda \iota o \epsilon ) \ \varDelta \eta \mu \acute{\eta} \tau \rho \iota o \epsilon \ \mathring{\epsilon} \pi \iota \delta \acute{\epsilon} [\delta \omega \text{-}]$ 

75 κα προς $\phi(\omega\nu\hat{\omega}\nu)$  ώς πρόκ $(\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota)$ .  $A(\mathring{\upsilon}\rho\mathring{\eta}\lambda\iota\circ\epsilon)$  ' $\Omega\rho\mathring{\iota}[\omega\nu]$  ἔγρ $(a\psi\alpha)$   $\mathring{\upsilon}(\pi\grave{\epsilon}\rho)$   $α\mathring{\upsilon}\tau\circ[\hat{\upsilon}]$  γρ $(\acute{a}\mu\mu\alpha\tau\alpha)$   $\mu\grave{\eta}$   $\acute{\epsilon}\mathring{\iota}$ δότος.

col. v

80 παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν μυροπωλῶν [τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) ' $O\xi(v\rho v\gamma \chi \iota \tau \hat{\omega} v)$  πόλεως δι' ἐμοῦ  $A\mathring{v}\rho(\eta \lambda \acute{\iota} v)$ ]

(m. 2?) Θωνίου Θέωνος. (m. 1?) προςφωνῶ ἰδίῳ τ̞ι[μήματι τὴν ἑξῆς ἐγγεγραμμένην]

1

```
τιμήν έπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ μηνὸς ὧν χ[ειρίζω ἀνίων, καὶ ὀμνύω τὸν θεῖον]
                 ορκον μηδέν διεψεῦςθαι.
                                                                       [ἔςτι δέ·]
                                                                             \tau \acute{a}\lambda (a\nu\tau a) (m. 1, added) \iota \beta
                                                        \lambda i(\tau \rho a \epsilon) a
                 πιπέρεως
       84
                                                                             \tau \acute{a} \lambda (a \nu \tau a) (m. 1, added) \beta
                                                        \lambda i(\tau \rho a c) a
                 λιβάνου
(m. 1?)
                                                                             \tau \acute{a} \lambda (a \nu \tau a) (m. 1, added) \nu
                 μαλαβάθρου
                                                        λί(τρας) α
(m. 1?)
                                                                             \tau \acute{a}\lambda(a\nu\tau a) (m. 1, added) \kappa
                                                        \lambda i(\tau \rho \alpha \epsilon) \alpha
                 ςτύρακος ύψηλοῦ
(m. 1<sup>2</sup>)
                                                                              τάλ(αντα) (m. 1, added) ι
                 cτύρακος ἐλαφροῦ
                                                        \lambda i(\tau \rho \alpha \epsilon) \alpha
(m. 1?)
                                                                              \tau \acute{a}\lambda(a\nu\tau a) (m. 1, added) 5
                                                        \lambda i(\tau \rho a \epsilon) a
                 κόςτου
(m. 1?)
                                                                              \tau \acute{a} \lambda (a \nu \tau a) (m. 1, added) \iota
                 μαςτίκης
                                                        \lambda i(\tau \rho \alpha \epsilon) \alpha
(m. 1?)
                                                                              \tau \acute{a} \lambda (a \nu \tau a) (m. 1, added) 5
                                                        \lambda i(\tau \rho \alpha \epsilon) \alpha
                 άμώμου
(m. 1?)
                                                                              τάλ(αντα) (m. 1, added) ζ
                  βδέλλης
                                                        \lambda i(\tau \rho \alpha \epsilon) \alpha
(m. 1?)
                                                                              \tau \acute{a} \lambda (a \nu \tau a) (m. 1, added).
                                                        \lambda i(\tau \rho \alpha \epsilon) \alpha
                  καςίας
(m. 1<sup>2</sup>)
                                                                              \tau \dot{\alpha} \lambda (\alpha \nu \tau \alpha) (m. 1, added) \beta
                  καςάμου
                                                        \lambda i(\tau \rho a \epsilon) a
(m. 1?)
                                                                              τάλ (αντον) (m. 1, added) α (δηνάρια) Ά
                                                         \lambda i(\tau \rho \alpha \epsilon) \alpha
                  ψιμιτίου
(m. 1?)
                                                                              \tau \acute{a} \lambda (a \nu \tau a) (m. 1, added) \delta
                                                         λί(τρας) α
                  [c] ανδυκίου
(m. 1?)
                                                         λί(τρας) α
                                                                              \tau \dot{a} \lambda (a \nu \tau a)
                  ζμύρνης
(m. 1?)
 (98-112 to right of 84-97)
         98
                   [.].[
                  μοχλω..[
        100
                   [ζ]ινκιπέρεως [
                   πατήμ ατος
                                                         \lambda i(\tau \rho a c) a
                                                                               \tau [\acute{a}\lambda(a\nu\tau a)]
                   αςφαλαν[θ]ίου
                                                          \lambda [i(\tau \rho a \epsilon) a]
                   άρναβωρατίων
                                                                               (δηνάρια) (m. 1, added) Ά
                   cαcέλεωc
                                                          \lambda i(\tau \rho a c) a
        105
                                                                               (δηνάρια) (m. 1, added) A
                                                          \lambda i(\tau \rho a \epsilon) a
 m. 1?
                   cφαγνίου
                                                                               (δηνάρια) (m. 1, added) Ά
                                                          \lambda i(\tau \rho a \epsilon) a
                   \epsilon i \rho \omega \nu \omega \nu
 (m. 1?)
                                                                               (δηνάρια) (m. 1, added) A
                                                          \lambda i(\tau \rho \alpha \epsilon) \alpha
                   έλενιδίων
 (m. 1?)
                                                                                (δηνάρια) (m. 1, added) A
                   άλκεωτίδων
                                                          \lambda i(\tau \rho a c) a
 (m. 1?)
                                                          \lambda[i(\tau\rho\alpha\epsilon)]\alpha[
                   ονυχίων
 (m. 1?)
                   ξυλομα [ ετίχης
                   αλ[ιμαςτου?
  (113 below 97)
                   A \mathring{v}_{\varrho}(\acute{\eta} \lambda \iota \circ \epsilon) \Theta \omega_{1} \dots \dots [.] \dots \dots [
   (m.4)
                              85~\tau\alpha\lambda^{\prime} and so elsewhere; the diagonal may be omitted, as in 84
                                                                                                                         aλ re-inked in 85
        84 λ, ταλ
                                                                                                103 1. ἀςπαλάθου?
                                                                                                                                 113 αυρ΄
```

101 Ι. ζιγγιβέρεως

95 Ι. ψιμυθίου, \*

90 1. μαςτίχης

Col. ii

'... the fish-merchants of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, ... Aurelius' (m. 2) '... son of Pamunis.' (m. 1?) 'At my own risk I declare the price entered below for the present month for the goods which I handle, and I swear the divine oath that I have been deceitful in nothing. As follows:

'All sorts of fish 1 lb. den.' (m. 2) '500.'

(m. 3) 'I, Aurelius . . ., presented this, making my declaration as aforesaid.'

Col. iii

(m. 1) 'In the consulship of our masters Constantinus Augustus for the 8th time and Constantinus the most noble Caesar for the 4th time, Phaophi 30. To Flavius Julianus, curator of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the fullers of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through us monthly presidents Aurelii' (m. 1, added?) 'Germanus son of Plution and Sarapion son of Dioscorus and Theognostus son of Nilus and Thonis son of Philoxenus.' (m. 1?) 'At our own risk we declare the price entered below for the present month for the goods which we handle, and we swear the divine oath that we have been deceitful in nothing. As follows:

'Arabian soda 100 lb. den.' (m. 1, added?) '500.'

(m. 2) 'We, Aurelii Germanus and Sarapion and Theognostus and Thonis, presented this, making our declaration as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Horion, wrote on their behalf as they are illiterate.'

Col. iv

(m. 1) 'In the consulship of our masters Constantinus Augustus for the 8th time and Constantinus the most noble Caesar for the 4th time, Phaophi 30. To Flavius Julianus, curator of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the potters of earthenware pottery of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through me Aurelius' (m. 1, added?) 'Demetrius son of (?) Melas.' (m. 1?) 'At my own risk I declare the price entered below for the present month for the goods which I handle, and I swear the divine oath that I have been deceitful in nothing. As follows:

'Dry pitch, Siritic 100 lbs. tal.' (m.?, added) '3'. (m. 1?) 'Troadensian 100 lbs.

(m. 2) 'I, Aurelius Demetrius, presented this, making my declaration as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Horion, wrote on his behalf as he is illiterate.'

Col. v

(m. 1) 'In the consulship of our masters Constantinus Augustus for the 8th time and Constantinus the most noble Caesar for the 4th time, Phaophi 30. To Flavius Julianus, curator of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the perfume-sellers of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through me Aurelius' (m. 2?) 'Thonius son of Theon.' (m. 1?) 'At my own risk I declare the price entered below for the present month for the goods which I handle, and I swear the divine oath that I have been deceitful in nothing. As follows:

```
'Pepper
                                   ı lb.
                                                  tal.' (m. 1, added) '12'.
          (m. 1?) 'Incense
                                   ı lb.
                                                  tal.' (m. 1, added) '2'.
          (m. 1?) 'Malabathrum 1 lb.
                                                 tal.' (m. 1, added) '50'.
          (m. 1?) 'Storax, tall
                                                 tal.' (m. 1, added) '20'.
                                   т lb.
                                                 tal.' (m. 1, added) '10'.
          (m. 1?) 'Storax, dwarf 1 lb.
          (m. 1?) 'Costmary
                                                 tal.' (m. 1, added) '6'.
                                   ı lb.
          (m. 1?) 'Mastic
                                                 tal.' (m. 1, added) '10'.
                                   ı lb.
          (m. 1?) 'Amomum
                                                 tal.' (m. 1, added) '6'.
                                   ı lb.
                                                 tal.' (m. 1, added) '7'.
          (m. 1?) 'Bdellium
                                   ı lb.
          (m. 1?) 'Cassia
                                   пlb.
                                                 tal.' (m. 1, added) '
          (m. 1?) 'Cassamum
                                   ı lb.
                                                 tal.' (m. 1, added) '2'.
          (m. 1?) 'White lead
                                   ı lb.
                                                 tal.' (m. 1, added) '1, den. 1,000'.
          (m. 1?) 'Sandyx
                                   ı lb.
                                                 tal.' (m. 1, added) '4'.
         (m. 1?) 'Myrrh
                                   пlb.
                                                 tal.
(l. 100)
         'Ginger
         'Pounded spice(?)
```

```
'Camel's thorn(?)
                         тlb.
                                       tal.
'Zedoary
                         ılb.
                         ı lb.
'Hartwort
                                       den.' (m. 1, added) '1,000'
(m. 1?) 'Sphagnium
                         ı lb.
                                       den.' (m. 1, added) '1,000'.
(m. 1?) '...
                         ı lb.
                                       den.' (m. 1, added) '1,000'
(m. 1?) 'Elecampane
                                       den.' (m. 1, added) '1,000'.
                         пlb.
                         ı lb.
(m. 1?) '...
                                       den.' (m. 1, added) '1,000'.
(m. 1?) '...
                         ılb.
'Mastic wood
. . . .
(m. 4) 'I, Aurelius Thonius, . . . '
```

19–22 The subscription is puzzling, although I can make very little of much of it and what is transcribed is very hazardous. The surface is almost entirely abraded. If 21-2 are correct the subscription is autograph. What occupied all the preceding space, since there was but one declarant (cf. 8 with the singular verbs in 9, 13, and 14 as well as 21-2), is far from clear.  $-\epsilon_1 a \rho \chi \eta c$  (19) hardly suggests a personal name; did the declarant somehow describe himself as  $\mu \eta \nu \epsilon_1 \dot{a} \rho \chi \eta c$  (a very short name could precede: but what of 20-1?), abnormally? The space allocated to the name will of course have to fit with 8 as well.

Reading very uncertain. No trace of ink below this line; unless another line has been totally lost,  $\pi\rho oc\phi\omega\nu\hat{\omega}\nu$  must have been abbreviated although no mark of abbreviation survives.

25 The consular formula as lemmatized in R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt 109 has Cεβαςτοῦ, not Αὐγούςτου. For the latter as the normal Oxyrhynchite form see LI

44 νίτρου Ἀραβικοῦ. For νίτρον see A. Lucas, Anc. Egyptian Materials and Industries, 4th edn. rev. J. R. Harris (1962) 263-7; also M. Manfredi et al., Trenta testi greci (editi in occ. del XVII Congr. int. di Pap.) (Florence, 1983) 22. 17 n., and M. Amelotti and L. Migliardi Zingale, Scritti in onore di Orsolina Montevecchi p. 5 with n. 7, from which it appears that the Arabian variety is new. The aphronitri of the Price Edict (two grades, §33. 38-9 as revised by M. H. Crawford and J. M. Reynolds, ZPE 34 (1979) 180 with commentary p. 203; the price of the better grade restored as 100 den./lb.) is so differently priced that it must be a different substance, unless the Edict's price is wrongly given.

62 The reading of the patronymic is very conjectural.

71-3 Cιριτικη̂c and Tρωαδηcίαc first read by H. M. Cockle, JRS 71 (1981) 95. See further the note on L **3596** 19.

79 Probably a space between λ[ογιστή and 'Οξυρυγχίτου.

84 ff. It is by no means apparent that all the prices have been added, but some are clearly so (e.g. 84); on this basis the deduction is made for the rest. On the import of aromatics see BASP 21 (1984), 39-47.

84 πιπέρεως. See V. Gazza, Aeg. 36 (1956) 92; M. Manfredi et al., op. cit., 19. 8 n.; M. H. Crawford and J. M. Reynolds, ZPE 34 (1979) 207; H. Harrauer and P. J. Sijpesteijn, Medizinische Rezepte (Vienna, 1981) p. 8.

85 λιβάνου. See Gazza, op. cit. 87-8; Harrauer-Sijpesteijn, op. cit. p. 10; S. Lauffer, Diokletians Preisedikt

285; P. Coll. Youtie II 87. 6n. and L. C. Youtie, ZPE 27 (1977) 145.

86 μαλαβάθρου. A. Lucas, op. cit. 308; Dai papiri della Società italiana (Omaggio all'XI Congr. int. di Pap.) (Florence, 1965), no. 12. 11 n.; Lauffer, op. cit. 287; Crawford-Reynolds, op. cit. 204 (on § 34. 2-3 of the Aezani copy of the Price Edict). At 60 den./lb. for the cheaper grade (§ 34. 3) this cannot be equivalent to the item in our declarations, which is consistently the guild's top-priced item.

87 8 ετύρακος. See XXXI **2570**, n. ad loc.; *Dai papiri* (cited above), no. 12. 10 n.; Lauffer, op. cit. 285; P. Vindob. Worp p. 156 (this text, no. 20, is re-ed. Harrauer-Sijpesteijn op. cit., text no. 1); Gazza, op.

cit. 98; P. Coll. Youtie II 86. 4n.

89 κόςτου. See Gazza, op. cit. 85; P. Coll. Youtie II 86. 3n.; Crawford-Reynolds, op. cit. 204;

Harrauer-Sijpesteijn, op. cit. p. 26; P. Haun. II 20. 11 n.; CPR IX 78. 3 n.

90 μαςτίκης (l. μαςτίχης). See P. Coll. Youtie II 86. 5 n.; P. Haun. II 20. 7 n.; Dai papiri, no. 12. 9 n.; Crawford Reynolds, op. cit. 205; Lauffer, op. cit. 285; L. C. Youtie, ZPE 27 (1977) 145; Harrauer–Sijpesteijn, op. cit. p. 9.

91 ἀμώμου. P. Coll. Youtie II 86. 2 n.; Dai papiri, no. 12. 19 n.; Lauffer, op. cit. 286.

92 βδέλλης. Lauffer, op. cit. 284; J. Hengstl, ZPE 30 (1978) 245-6.

93 καείαε. Lauffer, op. cit. 284; Crawford-Reynolds, op. cit. 204-5; Ann Hanson, TAPA 103 (1972) 164.

94 κατάμου. κα[ $\lambda$ ]άμου ed. pr., but traces of all the letters are present. The first published suspicion of this reading was due to D. Hagedorn as reported by A. Bülow-Jacobsen, P. Haun. II 20. 6 n., and is confirmed by the passages in 3731, 3733, and 3765.

95 ψιμιτίου. See Gazza, op. cit. 105; Lauffer, op. cit. 288; Harrauer-Sijpesteijn, op. cit. p. 6.

96 [ς] ανδυκίου. See Crawford-Reynolds, op. cit. 209, and cf. 3765 21 n.

97 ζμύρνης. Gazza, op. cit. 97-8; Dai papiri, no. 12. 13 n.; Lauffer, op. cit. 288; Harrauer-Sijpesteijn, op. cit. p. 5; Hanson, op. cit. 164; Crawford-Reynolds, op. cit. 206.

100 Note Crawford-Reynolds, op. cit. 206 (§ 34. 25 n.).

101 [ζ]ργκιπέρεως. Gazza, op. cit. 82; Lauffer, op. cit. 287; Harrauer-Sijpesteijn, op. cit. p. 8.

102 πατήμ[ατος. See XXXI 2570, n. ad loc.

103 ἀcφαλαν[θ]/ον. There is some uncertainty as to whether this should be equated with ἀcπάλαθος or with ἄcφαλτος. See Crawford-Reynolds, op. cit. 207. If it is at all correct to equate our item here with § 34. 70 of the Edict (as revised by Crawford-Reynolds: aspalathi in the Latin, ἀcπάλτον in the Greek), the form of the word here and in 3733 suggests the equation with ἀcπάλαθος is more likely. For ἄcφαλτος see Lauffer, op. cit. 289; Gazza, op. cit. 101; Dai papiri, no. 12. 16 n.; M. Manfredi et al., op. cit. (see 44 n.), 19. 5 n.

104 ἀρναβωρατίων. The reading at the end is uncertain: ἀρναβωρατικόν could also be read, but a genitive is expected. See XXXI 2570 n. ad loc.; also Lauffer, op. cit. 288, but for the revised text of the Edict at this

point (§34. 64-5) see Crawford-Reynolds, op. cit. 183.

105 cacέλεως. cayέλεως or caτέλεως ed. pr, 'unknown'. The new reading (confirmed by 3733 23) allows comparison with cέςελις, Gazza, op. cit. 96; see also P. Haun. II 20. 12 n.

106 cφαγνίου. The word is still not evidenced from elsewhere. Note that LSJ s.v. cφάγνος gives an

equation with  $dc\pi d\lambda a\theta oc$ , cf. 103 n. above.

107 εἰρωνων. 'Unknown', ed. pr. Note Crawford–Reynolds, op. cit. 209, suggesting a possible equation with the Edict's ireos (§ 34. 82); the Greek version is lost at this point. For this substance see Gazza, op. cit. 82; Harrauer–Sijpesteijn, op. cit. p. 14. Possibly cf. ἐλαίου εἰρίνου, § 34. 46 in the Price Edict ed. Giacchero, with Lauffer, op. cit. 287?

108 έλενιδίων. See Crawford-Reynolds, op. cit. 210.

109 ἀλκεωτίδων. ἀλκεωτίδος ed. pr., 'unknown; a herb, "elk's ear"?'

110 ὀνυχίων. Cf. ed. pr., n. ad loc., also VIII 1142 4 n.

111 ξυλομα[ $c\tau$ ίχης. Cf. 3733 29 ξυλομαςτίκη[c]. Cf. Crawford Reynolds, op. cit. 209 (= § 34. 79 in their revised version of this part of the Price Edict; the entry is absent in Lauffer's edition).

112 αλ[ιμαστου? This line omitted altogether in the ed. pr. Cf. 3733 30 αλιμαστου. άλασάνθου (cf. § 34. 97 in

the Price Edict with Crawford Reynolds, op. cit. 210) cannot be read there.

113 The line must surely read  $A \dot{v} \rho(\dot{\eta} \lambda \iota o c)$  Θώνιος  $\dot{\epsilon} \pi \iota \delta \dot{\epsilon} \delta \omega \kappa \alpha \pi \rho o c \phi(\omega v \hat{\omega} v)$   $\dot{\omega} c \pi \rho \dot{o} \kappa (\epsilon \iota \tau \alpha \iota)$ , cf. 46–7 and 74–5, but I cannot claim to link the traces to this reading beyond Θω-. The subscription of a  $\dot{v} \pi o \gamma \rho \alpha \phi \dot{\epsilon} \dot{v} c$  could have followed; there could just be room in the rest of this one (wide) line.

# 3767. Proceedings before the Logistes

4 1B.76/3(c) 27 × 41 cm

30 December 329 or 330

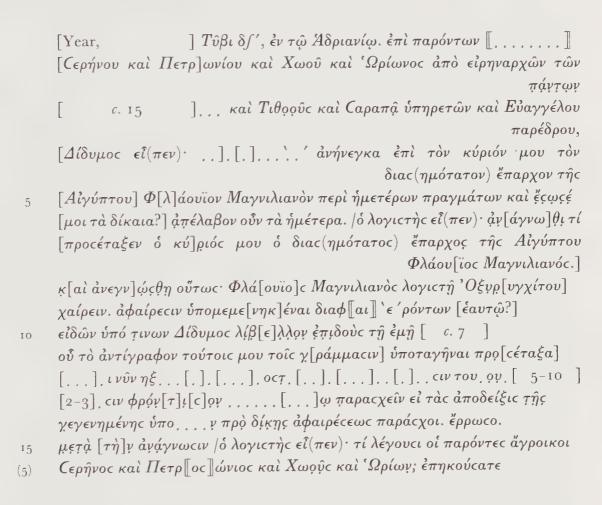
Under this number we republish XXXI 2562 together with an additional dozen lines which adjoin at the top and stretch back to the beginning of the report; 2562 had the end, so that now we have the full extent (although lacunose) of the proceedings. The line-numbering of the ed. pr. is added in brackets. On the first-written side is 3766, which republishes and extends XXXI 2570.

The new piece makes it clear that the presiding official is not the logothetes but the logistes (as was to be expected, since the documents on the other side came into his bureau). The logistes is not named but must have been Flavius Julianus.

The date is Tybi 4 of a year which must fall in the prefecture of Flavius Magnilianus

(his predecessor Septimius Zenius in office 19 August 328, XLIII 3126; Magnilianus in office 12 January 330, XLVII 3350), but later than the declarations to the logistes written first on the other side (3766, 27 October 329). At the other end both papyrus and prefect are limited by the prefecture of Florentius, only attested so far in hagiographical sources for some time in 331: see J. Lallemand, L'Admin. civile 241. Possible dates are thus 30 December 329 or 30 December 330. The first of these was a Tuesday, the second a Wednesday (V. Grumel, La Chronologie p. 316); i.e. one cannot exclude one of the choices on the basis of its being a Sunday, cf. 3759. The papyrus roll with the declarations preserved in part as 3766 (27 October 329) would not have been considered scrap paper at least until it was superseded by the next month's declarations (which would be dated 26 November), so that the minimum interval before partial reuse as 3767 would be a month.

Written along the fibres in transversa charta form. For the kolleseis, see 3766 introd.



<sup>1 1.</sup> Άδριανείω 3 ϋπηρετων 4 διαςf; so in 7, 17, 24 6  $\epsilon \iota$ ) and so passim 9 First  $\nu$  of διαφερόντων rewritten 13 1. ἀποδείξεις

[τ $\hat{\eta}$ ]ς προςτά $\xi$ ε[ω]ς τοῦ κυρίου μ[ου διας](ημοτάτου) ἐπάρχο[υ τ $\hat{\eta}$ ]ς Αἰχήπτου Φλαουΐου Μαγνιλιανοῦ

[καὶ] τῶν ὑπὸ Διδύμου κατατεθέντων ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ὡς εἴη πληρωθεὶς τῶν εἰδῶν αὐτοῦ· κατάθεςθ[αι] `ε΄ τοίνυν καὶ ὑμῖς

20 τί ἐπράξατε ἐπὶ τούτοις· ἢ πέρα ἀπήτηςεν ὑμᾶς ὁ Δίδυμος; 10) οἱ προειρημένοι ἀπεκρ(ίναντο)· εἴ τι ἐκρί[θ]ημεν ἐν τῷ κυριακῷ, δεδώκαμεν·

(10) οἱ προειρημένοι ἀπεκρ(ίναντο)· εἴ τι ἐκρί[θ]ημεν ἐν τῷ κυριακῷ, δεδώκαμεν· καὶ ἐπίσθημεν πρὸς ἑαυτούς. /ὁ λ̞ο[γι]ς[τὴ]ς [εῖ](πεν)· καὶ ἡ προφορὰ Διδύμου καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀγροίκων ἐμφέρεται τοῖς ὑπ[ο]μνήμαςιν· τῆς γὰρ προςτ[ά]ξ[εως] τοῦ κυρίου μου διας(ημοτάτου) ἐπάρχου προςταττούςης τὰ ταῖς ἀληθείαις χρεω[ςτού-]

 $\mu$ ενα ἀποκατα<br/>ςταθήναι, τοῦτο γεγένηται κατὰ τὰ προςφωνη $\theta$ [έντα,]

 $\begin{array}{ll} \omega_{\mathsf{C}} & \epsilon \hat{\imath} \pi o \llbracket \mu \rrbracket \nu, \llbracket \hat{\epsilon} \pi \iota \, . \, \rrbracket \; \hat{\nu} \llbracket \pi \hat{o} \; \hat{a} \mu \rrbracket \phi_{\mathsf{Q}} \tau \hat{\epsilon} \rho \omega \nu \; \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \; \mu \epsilon \rho \hat{\omega} \nu \; \hat{\epsilon} \pi \hat{\iota} \; \hat{\nu} \pi o \mu \llbracket \nu \eta \mu \hat{a} - \rrbracket \\ \tau \omega \nu. \end{array}$ 

19 ϋμις; l. ὑμεῖς 20 ϋμας 22 l. ἐπείεθημεν 23 Third ε of ἐμφέρεται corr. from a

'[Year,] Tybi 4, in the Hadrianeum. In the presence of Serenus and Petronius and Chöous and Horion, ex-eirenarchs, all . . . and Tithoes and Sarapas, assistants, and Euangelus, assessor, Didymus said, "I sent up (a petition?) to my lord the prefect of Egypt, Flavius Magnilianus, vir perfectissimus, about our affairs and he (confirmed my rights?). So I recovered my property." The curator said, "Read what my lord the prefect of Egypt, Flavius Magnilianus, vir perfectissimus, instructed." And there was read as follows: "Flavius Magnilianus to the curator of the Oxyrhynchite, greetings. Didymus, having presented a petition to my . . . that he had suffered the theft by certain persons of goods belonging to himself, the copy of which I have ordered to be subjoined to this my letter, ... see to it ... provide ... if he should provide the proofs of the theft that occurred ... before the court case. Farewell." After the reading the curator said, "What do the peasants who are present say, Serenus and Petronius and Chöous and Horion? You have listened to the ordinance of my lord prefect of Egypt, Flavius Magnilianus, vir perfectissimus, and the depositions of Didymus on the record, that he has received his goods in full. Depose yourselves therefore what you did in this connection; or did Didymus demand too much from you?" The aforesaid persons answered, "Whatever we were assessed in the government account, we paid; and we came to an agreement among ourselves." The curator said, "The depositions both of Didymus and the peasants are entered in the minutes; for the ordinance of my lord prefect, vir perfectissimus, has ordained that what was genuinely owed should be paid back, and this has happened according to the declarations, as I said, by both sides on the record."

 $_{\rm I}$  The regnal-year notation presumably came in the lacuna. The possibilities are 24, 14, 6 and 25, 15, 7 (see the introduction above).

έν τῷ Άδριανίῳ. Cf. **3758** 134 n.

Possibly 'Ωρίωνος under the deletion.

I-2 Serenus et al. are in effect one of the parties in the case (cf. 15-16), not assistants to the court as the persons named in 3 will be. This, then, runs counter to the rules of format proposed by me in *Reports of Proceedings* (= Pap. Brux. 4), esp. p. 33. See further 3758 156-8 n.

3 Tithoes and Sarapas recur in P. Harr. I 160. 3, as re-ed. ZPE 37 (1980) 237, dated 'after c. AD 329-331'. 4 For the restoration of  $\Delta l \delta \nu \mu o \epsilon \epsilon l (\pi \epsilon \nu)$  cf. 10. It was perhaps followed by a note of the month and the day.

or more likely by an object (λίβελλον (cf. 10) vel sim.) for ἀνήνεγκα following.

7 Mayviliavóc at end must have been somewhat cramped.

9 ἀφαίρεςιν. See LI 3611 7-10 n.

- 19 εἴη πληρωθείς. For the construction see F. T. Gignac, Grammar ii 305-7.
- 20 η πέρα. ὑπὲρ ἄ cannot be read, although ηπερ might possibly be a phonetic variant of ὑπέρ.
- 21 For the abbreviation of  $a\pi \epsilon \kappa \rho(i\nu a\nu \tau o)$  cf. 3757 13n.
- 22 For ἐαυτούς as first person reflexive see Gignac, Grammar ii 167.

## 3768. Declarations of Prices

A 6.B5/2(J) (5 iii 74)

 $15 \times 9.5$  cm

c. 332-6?

This sequence of three price-declarations to the logistes contains those of the goldsmiths (cf. 3765) and the silversmiths (cf. LI 3624), and is likely therefore to have been the beginning of a roll of such declarations, cf. 3765 introd. If it was once preceded by columns of summarized prices, as in 3765, no trace now remains. The blank spaces left in these declarations, see 3731 introd., were never filled in; cf. I 85 v-vi, re-ed. ZPE 39 (1980) 119-20, and LI 3626. Was this roll never used?

The sequence of guilds yielded by 3765 combined with this papyrus indicates that LI 3624-6 may also come from near the beginning of their roll; see Appendix II below.

The declarations here break off before reaching the statement of the objects declared, as does the goldsmiths' declaration in 3765. We may conclude from 3773 (see the introd. to that text) that the object of the goldsmiths' declaration was the gold solidus.

The logistes, Flavius Asclepiades, is new. The papyrus preserves no date, and Asclepiades' position in the list of logistae is uncertain. The use of the gentilicium Flavius assures a placing c. 325 or later (J. G. Keenan, ZPE 11 (1973) 46, 49) but there is no adequate gap in fact until between Flavius Hermias and Flavius Paeanius alias Macrobius, c. 332-6. As well as being the earliest substantial gap in the period after c. 325, this is one of the longer gaps within the palaeographical date-range. But this must remain conjectural and I cannot exclude a placing somewhat later in the fourth century.

All the writing on the papyrus is in one hand. There is one kollesis, at the right edge of col. ii. The back is blank.

ιδίω τιμήματι τὴ[ν] έ[ξ]ῆς ἐνγεγρ[αμμέ-]

col. ii

10 Φλ(αουΐω) Λεκληπιάδη λογιετῆ 'Οξυρυγχίτου [παρ]ὰ τοῦ κοιν[ο]ῦ τῶν ἀρ[γ]υροκ[όπων τ]ῆς αὐ- τῆς πόλε[ω]ε

15 [ ] (vac.)
προςφωνοῦμεν
ἰδίῳ τιμήματι τὴν
ε[ξ]ῆς ἐνγεγραμμέ[ν]ην τιμὴν ὧν χι20 [ρίζ]ο[μ]εν ὧν[ί]ω[ν] κ[αὶ

col. iii

[Φ]λ(αουΐω) Αςκλ[ηπιάδη] λογιςτῆ ['Οξυρυγχίτου] [π]αρὰ τοῦ κο[ινοῦ τῶν] [.....]..[0-3 τῆς αὐτῆς]

πόλ[εω]ς [
 (vac.) [
 προσφων[οῦ]μ[εν]
 ἰδίω τιμήματ[ι τὴν]
 ἐξῆς ἐνγεγρα[μμέ-]

30 νην τιμ[ὴν ὧν χει-] ρίζομεν ὧ[νίων [...]..[

9, 18, 29 l. έγγεγραμμένην 10  $\phi\lambda'$  14 Filler-stroke at end (cf. 5) 19-20 l.  $\chi$ ειρίζομεν 21  $[\phi]\lambda'$  25  $\pi\phi\lambda[\epsilon\omega]_{\varsigma}$ : trace at end is of filler-stroke (cf. 5, 14 with app. crit.) rather than actual  $\epsilon$ 

. . . . . .

'To Flavius Asclepiades, curator of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the goldsmiths of the same city [vac.]. At our own risk we declare the (price) entered below . . .'

Col. ii

'To Flavius Asclepiades, *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the silversmiths of the same city [vac.]. At our own risk we declare the price entered below for the goods which we handle and . . . '

Col. iii

'To Flavius Asclepiades, curator of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the... of the same city [vac.]. At our own risk we declare the price entered below for the goods which we handle...'

5-7 Note the consistent plural drafting (cf. 16, 27) and the comparatively narrow space for the names (esp. in 26) if there were to be more than one declarant. Cf. I 85 i-iv (re-ed. ZPE 39 (1980) 116-19).

24 Traces are completely indeterminate: there is no chance of identifying the guild here  $(d\rho\tau o\kappa \acute{o}\pi o\iota, cf. LI$  3625?) on their basis. Estimate of letters lost at the end (besides the necessary  $\tau \mathring{\eta} c$   $α \mathring{\upsilon} τ \mathring{\eta} c$ ) is variable, from none (cf. 21, 23) to three (cf. 22), since the break is approximately vertical.

### 3769. Petition to a Syndic

22 3B.16/K(1-2)a

12.5 × 12 cm

February/March 334

The details of this damaged petition are scarcely discernible. Nevertheless it is of interest for its addressee, Flavius Julianus, syndic, who appears again—but as Aurelius—in 3770: see the introd. to that text. There are various possible explanations of the change of gentilicium from Aurelius to Flavius, but since 3769 (where he is Flavius) must antedate 3770 (where he is Aurelius), or at the very least date from the same day (3769 was written in Phamenoth, 3770 on Phamenoth 30), this must strengthen the case for supposing that Aurelius as Julianus' gentilicium in 3770 is only a slip. A minor consequence is that 3770 is less likely to have been drafted at the syndic's bureau, where obviously the scribes would have known his correct current style.

The papyrus formed part of a τόμος cυγκολλήςιμος and there are scanty remains of the ends of some lines from the preceding entry, which we do not transcribe.

The back is blank.

```
ύπατείας Φλαουΐου 'Οπτάτου πατρι[κί]ου [καὶ Ἀνικίου]
Παυλείνου τῶν λαμπροτάτων, Φαμεν[ὼθ
Φλαουΐω 'Ιουλιανῶ ευνδίκω νομοῦ 'Οξ[υρυγχίτου]
παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Διεῦτος Ἀΰειος ἀπὸ κώμης [ ε. 8 ]
ἐποφθαλμιῶν ἡμετέρων χηδίω[ν . .] . [ ε. 9 ]
ἀπὸ τῆ[c] αὐτῆς κώμης πεντ . . [ ε. 9 ?ριψοκίν-]
δυνον ἐαυτὸν προτεῖναι προς . [
. [ .] .[ .] ην ὁ προκίμενος Διον . .[
```

1 φλαουΐου 3 φλαουΐωΐουλιανω; superfluous ink after cυνδίκω perhaps just an accidental blot 4 c of Διεῦτος corr.; αϋςιος: v partly obscured by ink, perhaps only a blot 8 l. προκείμενος

1 For the consuls cf. 3770 18 and n.

5 For ἐποφθαλμιάω with the genitive cf. P. Sak. 43. 19, but here a dative could have followed, e.g. μέρει.

9 For irenarchs see P. Turner 41. 20-1 n., 42 introd. and N. Lewis, The Compulsory Services of Roman Egypt (= Pap. Flor. XI) 23-4. The irenarchs here will be village officials; for their κεφαλαιωτής cf. XIX 2233 3-4 (with XXXI 2568 1-3 n.) and L 3576 21.

10 It is tempting to conjecture that the petitioner is requesting that the culprit be brought before the prefect's court under guard by the headman of the irenarchs.

### 3770. Petition to a Syndic

71/21(a) 20 × 23.5 cm 26 March 334

Aurelia Ptolema petitions Aurelius Julianus, syndic of Oxyrhynchus, because of the behaviour of her son-in-law.

The document is of particular interest for the style and title of the addressee. 3769 attests him as syndic in the same year and month (therefore the same day or earlier) but with the *gentilicium* Flavius. He is to be identified with the Flavius Julianus who was *curator civitatis* shortly before (see Appendix I below) and acting syndic shortly after the date of the present text (VI 901 and 3771). For the significance of the *gentilicium*-change and for the office of syndic (and its relationship to the  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\delta\iota\kappa\sigma c$ ) see 3771 3 n. and 3769 introd.

There is one kollesis, of the usual three layers, about one quarter of the way across (the edge of the upper sheet bisecting  $d\nu/\delta\rho i$ , 4). The damage is such as to permit examination of the uppermost layer from behind.

The back is blank, as far as can be seen; it has been extensively covered with repair strips in antiquity.

¥

```
Αὐρη[λίω] Ἰουλιανῷ cυνδίκῳ τῆς ἸΟ[ξ]υρυγχ[ιτ]ῷν π[όλεως] (vac.) παρὰ Αὐρηλί[α]ς Πτολέμας Διονυςίου ἀπὸ [τῆς] ᾳὐτῆς π[όλεως. τὴν] ἡμετέρ[αν θ]υγατέραν Ἄριλλαν Διοχένου[ς . . ] . . [ . ] . μη[ c. 7 ] ἐκδέδωκα ἀνδρὶ Θέωνί τινι πρὸς χά[μο]ν [ . ] . . . . . . [ c. 5 ]
```

3 Ι. θυγατέρα; Δ of Διοχένου[ε corr.

- 5 τουτ. [ c. 5 ]. ρων ἐξ ῆς καὶ υἱὸν ἔςχεν ἄρρ[ε]να ὅν ἐγ[α]λα-κτοτρόφης εν ἐπὶ ἕνα ῆμις υ ἐνιαυτὸν [κ]αὶ οὕτε τῷ παιδὶ τὰς τροφὰς οὕτε τῆ γυναικὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἐ[π] εκούρης εν ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ ἐν ἀ[λλο]δαπῆ γενόμενος πολλῷ χρόνῳ τὰ μὲν ςτρώματα αὐτοῦ λαβὼν α....[.] ςεν καὶ ἐν χηρεία τὴν ἐμὴν θυγ[ατ] έρα καταλείψας
  10 πιρᾶται καὶ τὰ ἔδινα ἄπερ τότε παρέςχεν ἀπα[ιτ] εῖν με τῆς ἐμῆς ἀςθενίας καταφρονής ας ὅθεν οῦ φέρους απὴν τοῦ ἀνδοὸς
- αςθενίας καταφρονής ας δθεν οὐ φέρους απα[ιτ] ειν με της έμης αςθενίας καταφρονής ας δθεν οὐ φέρους τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αςυνειδης ίαν ἐπιδίδωμι τὰ βιβλία ἀξιοῦ[ca] εἰ τῷ αὐτῷ [αὐθ] α-δία ἐπιμένοι εν καὶ τοὺς νόμους παρεκτ. [3-4], τους [ ε. 4 ] [ . ], ν δικαι [ . ] γάμων ώρις μένους α [ . . [3-4], α [ ε. 6 ]
- 15 [..].[.]. τροφὰς τοῦ τε υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς γαμετ[ῆς] ὑπο [...]..[.]. μηδ[ὲ] βουλόμενον διδόναι μηδὲ βιοτιν αὐτὸ(ν) [...]....[. ἀλ]λοτριοῦςθαι αὐτὴν τ[ο]ῦ ἀνδρός. [ὑ]πατεἰα[ς] Φλ(αουίου) 'Οπτάτου πατρικίου καὶ Ἀνικίου Παυλίνου
- 19 τών λ[αμπροτάτ]ων, Φαμενώθ λ΄.

(vac.)

(m. 2)  $[A \dot{v} \rho] ηλία Πτολέμα ἐπιδέδωκα.$ 

5 ] αρων or ]θρων 10 l.  $πειρ\^αται$  11 l. αρων 13 l. επιμένοι 16 l. βιότιον? αυτο 17 Long filler-stroke at end of line

'To Aurelius Julianus, syndic of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelia Ptolema, daughter of Dionysius, from the same city. I gave our daughter Arilla (her father being Diogenes) . . . to a man, one Theon, in marriage . . . He had a male child by her. She nursed the child for a year and a half. He provided no maintenance for the child or for his wife, but having already been elsewhere for a long time, taking his bedding he . . . , and leaving my daughter as a widow he tries even to demand back from me the bride-price he provided at that time, scorning my powerlessness. Wherefore, since I cannot endure the man's lack of conscience, I present this petition, requesting that if he persists in this same wilful behaviour and . . .

'In the consulship of Flavius Optatus, patrician, and Anicius Paulinus, viri clarissimi, Phamenoth 30.' (m. 2) 'I, Aurelia Ptolema, presented this.'

- 5  $viò \gamma$  . . .  $\tilde{a}\rho\rho[\epsilon]\gamma a$ . For  $vi\acute{o}\epsilon$  used as a feminine cf. L. C. Youtie, ZPE 33 (1979) 210 and R. Hodot, ibid. 37 (1980) 105 n. 5.
  - 9 Not  $d\pi\epsilon\delta\eta\mu\eta\epsilon\epsilon\nu$ : the fourth letter is not  $\delta$ , nor are the remains wide enough.
- 12 ἀcυνειδητία. See John Chrysostom, Homil. in Act. Ap. 31. 4 (PG. 60. 234) ἀτυνειδητίας ἀπίττου δόξαν λαβών (cited, as Dr Holford-Strevens points out, in the Dimitrakos lexicon s.v.). Cf. the opposite εὐτυνειδητία, PSI V 452. 26, where it is used as an honorific (which is absent from the discussion of H. Zilliacus, Unters. zu den abstr. Anredeformen).
  - 15 ψπό? Or ἀπό?
- 18 For these consuls and for Optatus' title of patricius note T. D. Barnes, The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine 107-8.

## 3771. Petition to an Acting Syndic

71/61(a) 12.5 × 16.5 cm 1 May 336

This is a duplicate of VI 901. The new text confirms the addressee, Flavius Julianus, as acting  $\epsilon \omega \delta \omega \kappa c$  instead of acting  $\epsilon \kappa \delta \omega \kappa c$  (see B. R. Rees,  $\mathcal{JJP}$  6 (1952) 83 n. 66, and 3 n. below) and the two papyri combine to allow us to know more of the drama of the petitioner's story and to appreciate the real plight of her poor pigs.

The two texts are in the same hand, and the pattern of damage is similar which suggests that they may have been rolled up together when they were thrown away. 901 probably came from Grenfell and Hunt's first season (cf. VI preface); the inventory-number of 3771 indicates nothing about the time of its discovery. At any rate the first editors were clearly unaware of this text when they published 901. The writer's spelling is much improved in 3771 (5 ἐςπεριναῖς ὥραις, 6 χοῖροι, etc.) except for the curious error in 1, see n., but the grammar remains incorrigible. 3771 possibly joins to the right of 901. The back of 3771 is blank; contrast 901 introd.

The surface of 3771 is badly damaged but there appears to be a kollesis reaching about 2.5 cm from the left edge.

ύπατείας Οὐιρίου Νεπωτιανοῦ καὶ Τεττ[ί]ου ζεκούνδου τῶν λαμπροτάτων {λαμπροτάτων}, [Πα]χὼν ς. Φλαουΐω Ἰουλιανῶ διοικοῦντι ςυνδικί[αν] 'Οξυρυγχίτου παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Άλλοῦτος Θωνίου ἀπὸ κώμης Ταα μ΄- $\pi \epsilon \mu \circ \hat{v} \epsilon' \pi \acute{a} \chi \circ \hat{v}$ .  $\acute{\epsilon} c \pi \epsilon \rho i v a \hat{i} c \, \mathring{\omega} \rho a i c \, \tau \mathring{\eta} \, \chi [\theta] \grave{\epsilon} c \, \mathring{\eta} [\mu \acute{\epsilon} \rho] a$ 5 ήμέτεροι χοιροι δύο την [δ]ρμήν ποιού[μ]ενοι ἐπὶ ἡμέτερον ἔδαφος γεγόμενοι ζέν ς ὑδραγωγίω μ[η]χανῆς των ήμετέρων π[ε]δών καὶ Παβάν[ου] τινὸς ἀπὸ τῆ[ε] αὐτῆς κώ[μ]ης, ὁ προειρημένος Παβάνος π[αρατυ-] χων έχων μετά χίρας ξοΐδιον ἀνελείν τοὺς χοί-10 ρους βουλόμ[ενος] καὶ τοῦτον ἐπιςχοῦςα ὡς μηδαμῶς ἀδ[ικ]η[ $\theta$ εὶς] ὑπὸ τῶν χοίρων καὶ ἀπο-[ ςχό] μενος [της προς] τοὺς [χοί] ρους ἐπελεύς εως έ[μοὶ ἐπελήλυθε]ν βου[λόμ]ενός με καταποντίςαι έν ύδρα [γωγίω ώς εί] μή έκ τινος προνοίας τήν 15 [c. 3]ν τῶν ἐπαντλούντων βοῶν . . . . [c. 3] [ c.4 ], [,],..., [ $\mu\eta$ ] $\dot{\nu}$  $\dot{\nu}\pi$ ,  $\dot{\alpha}\dot{\nu}$  $\tau$  $\dot{\alpha}\dot{\nu}$  [ $\dot{\nu}$  $\delta$  $\rho$  $\alpha$  $\gamma$  $\omega$ ] $\dot{\nu}$ ![ $\omega$ ]

1 ουϊριου, τετ'τιου; l. Φακούνδου 3 φλαουϊωϊουλιανω 10 l. χεῖρας; ξοϊδιον 12 l. ἀδικηθέντα 17 ϋπ

$$\begin{bmatrix} c. & 12 \\ c. & 12 \end{bmatrix} . . \begin{bmatrix} c. & 5 \\ c. & 3 \end{bmatrix} . \begin{bmatrix} c. & 11 \\ c. & 10 \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} c. & 12 \\ c. & 13 \end{bmatrix} . . \begin{bmatrix} c. & 16 \\ c. & 16 \end{bmatrix}$$

'In the consulship of Virius Nepotianus and Tettius Secundus (sic), viri clarissimi, Pachon 6.

'To Flavius Julianus, acting syndic of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelia Allous daughter of Thonius from the village of Taampemou in the 5th pagus. In the evening hours yesterday our two pigs broke out on to our plot and got into the conduit of the waterwheel for our lands and those of one Pabanus from the same village. The said Pabanus happened by, having a chisel in his hands, and wanted to kill the pigs. I held him back, for the pigs had done him no wrong. He desisted from his onslaught on the pigs and came at me, wanting to push me under in the conduit, so that had I not by some providence... the ... of the oxen working the irrigation, [I would have been?] ... by him in the conduit ...'

1 Cεκούνδου. The reading is quite clear, but there is no justification for the name. For the consuls see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* 110. The writer's error is the more extraordinary given the generally improved spelling here compared with the performance in 901.

2 The slight indentation in this line does not occur in 901.

3 Flavius Julianus is the former logistes or curator civitatis, attested in that office from 329 to 331. For his career see Appendix I below. I deal here with problems relating to the office of cύνδικος in general and to his tenure of it in particular.

3769 of Feb./Mar. 334 attested him as syndic, not as acting syndic, with the gentilicium Flavius (he had already been Flavius as curator). 3770 again attested him as syndic in the same year, on 26 March, but with the gentilicium Aurelius. Now the present text and its duplicate VI 901 (see B. R. Rees,  $\mathcal{JJP}$ 6 (1952) 83 n. 66: from a photograph I believe  $\varsigma \mu \nu \delta \iota \kappa \acute{\iota} \alpha \nu$  is justifiable) attest him a couple of years later (1 May 336) as acting syndic and Flavius again.

The standard reference for the ἔκδικος/cύνδικος/defensor in Egypt is still B. R. Rees, JJP 6 (1952) 73–102. Several new examples can be added to his list on pp. 101–2, and there have been several more recent discussions, none of them reaching significant conclusions radically different from those Rees could reach. These discussions are: A. K. Bowman, Akten des XIII. intern. Papyrologenkongresses (1971; publ. Munich 1974) 44; J. Lallemand, L'Admin. civile 114–18; A. K. Bowman, Town Councils 46–52, 124; J. G. Keenan, ZPE 11 (1973) 49, 60, ibid. 13 (1974) 291.

References from mid-fourth-century Egypt with named ἔκδικοι and cύνδικοι are as follows:

P. Strasb. 296	326	Aur. Ammonius alias Canobus, Aur. Nilammon alias Hierax, both cύνδικοι, ex-magistrates, and councillors	Hermop.
XLIV 3195	331	Claudius Hermias, ἔκδικος	Oxy.
P. Köln Panop. 30	331	Fl. Paniscus, ἔκδικος	Panop.
PSI VII 767	331/2	Aur. Achillion, ἔκδικος, διάδοχος	Oxy.
		to curator	
XII 1426	332	,, ,, ,,	Oxy.
XLIII 3127	332	22 22 22	Oxy.
P. Cairo Preis. 7	iv	Sallustius Olympiodorus, ἔκδικος	Hermop.
3769	334	Fl. Julianus, εύνδικος	Oxy.
3770	334	Aur. Julianus, εύνδικος	Oxy.
3771, VI 901	336	Fl. Julianus, acting εύνδικος	Oxy.
SB III 6294	336	Fl. Hermias, εύνδικος	Oxy.
CPRV 9	339	Aur. Eulogius alias Euphronius, ἔκδικος	Hermop.
P. Col. VII 175	340	[Fl.?] Didymion(?), εύνδικος (see ZPE 45 (1982) 234)	Arsinoite

From the welter of conflicting and confusing information some facts may now be claimed to emerge. The ἔκδικος in the early fourth century was junior to the curator (witness the order in 3195 and elsewhere, and the position of the ἔκδικος as διάδοχος to the curator, PSI VII 767), the cύνδικος from the 330s apparently senior to him (two ex-curatores become cύνδικοι; contrast Lallemand, op. cit. 118). Nomenclature adds further proof in both directions: ἔκδικοι in this period can be Aurelii, if they do not carry another nomen like Claudius Hermias and Sallustius Olympiodorus. On the other hand cύνδικοι and acting cύνδικοι are Flavii after 325, except for the single anomalous case of Aur. Julianus (3770) who is Flavius in the same year (3769), and the pair who are Aurelii in 326 (P. Strasb. 296), a puzzle which I except from the discussion which follows and defer to the end of this note.

If a condition of the grant of the Flaviate was not only that the post should be of a certain status but that it should be a government post (army or civil service) as opposed to a municipal service post, then either the ekdikia rated too low, or it was not a government post, or both (in the first half of the fourth century, that is). The post of curator was a government one and its holders from 325 are Flavii (earlier they were Valerii). Early on the gentilicium probably lapsed on ending tenure of the post (XLV 3256 In.); later the title was retained in an 'emeritus' capacity (I 66). If in the 330s, the period relevant to the present text, the gentilicium would normally lapse, then it is most likely that the syndic was a government official. If the gentilicium was retained, then the post of syndic may still be a government one carrying the Flaviate; or it may be a senior municipal appointment filled by local 'elder statesmen' who would have the Flaviate if they had (as had both Julianus and Hermias) been in government service at the appropriate level, on a par with the office of riparius (P. Harr. II 218. 2 n.). Whatever the explanation, the attribution of the gentilicium Aurelius to Julianus in 3770 seems likely to be purely an error.

The odd man out is Fl. Paniscus, ἔκδικος (P. Köln Panop. 30). He may, of course, have the Flaviate by virtue of previous service in the army or in another capacity (for a possible early Flavius-veteran cf. 3758

202 n.).

The other difficulty is posed by P. Strasb. 296, where two syndics occur in November 326, both of them Aurelii; they are also described as ex-magistrates and councillors (of Hermopolis). This is substantially later than the start of the allocation of the Flaviate. Admittedly we do not know the mechanism of the allocation (cf. 3758 202 n.), and the evidence shows (e.g. XLIII 3125) that some ranks received it before others. Nevertheless, since they are paired and bear municipal titles, these syndics of the Strasbourg text seem more akin to their namesakes from the beginning of the century (e.g. XXXIII 2665 and 2673, M. Chr. 196) than to the Flaviate ex-curator syndics, seemingly without colleagues, of the 330s, and to suppose that the Strasbourg text is just too early for the Flaviate to have reached the syndics does not obviate the difficulties. Was there a change in the status and the number of holders of the cuνδικία between 326 and (at the latest) 334, so that the allocation of the Flaviate comes later than expected and P. Strasb. 296 may legitimately be segregated from the syndics of the 330s and 340s? (Cf. A. K. Bowman, Akten XIII Papyrologenkongr. 44.) Otherwise we must suppose that, like the riparii, the syndics are not Flavii in virtue of their office and that the holders of the office who are Flavii either carry the gentilicium by right of a previous office or have some unmentioned concurrent entitlement.

4-5 For Taaμπεμοῦ see P. Pruneti, I centri abitati dell' Ossirinchite (= Pap. Flor. IX) 188-9. Its location in the 5th pagus was already known (only from 901).

5 έςπεριναῖς ὥραις. Cf. LI 3620 9-10.

- 7 The presence of oxen (ἐπαντλούντων βοῶν, 16) indicates that the μηχανή here will be of the sāqia-type; the ὑδραγώγιον will be the exit-channel. Cf. L. Ménassa and P. Laferrière, La Sāqia: technique et vocabulaire de la roue à eau égyptienne (Cairo, IFAO), where note the diagram facing p. 26. On the sāqia see also J. P. Olesen, Greek and Roman Mechanical Water-lifting Devices (= Phoenix suppl. 16, 1984) 370-85; T. Schioler, Roman and Islamic Water-lifting Wheels (Odense, 1973).
- 8  $\pi[\epsilon]\delta\hat{\omega}\nu$ . 901 8 has  $\pi\epsilon\delta\omega\nu$ . Pace Grenfell and Hunt, this is far more likely to be for  $\pi\epsilon\delta\delta\omega\nu$  than  $\pi\alpha\delta\delta\omega\nu$ : for loss of iota in these circumstances and for the accent-shift cf. F. T. Gignac, Grammar i 302-3.
- 10 ξοΐδιον. 901 read ξοίλιον, corrected in the app. crit. to ξύλιον, but from a photograph it is reasonably clear that the reading should be ξοΐδιον as here. Delete ξύλιον from LSJ.

12 ἀδ[ικ]η[θείς]. Cf. 901 11 ἀδικηθεί[ε] where ι is clear and ἀδικηθέν[τα] cannot be read.

- 14  $\mu\epsilon$ . The damaged fibres at 901 14 must be adjusted to allow  $\mu\rho\iota$  or  $\mu\alpha\iota$  (in place of  $\rho\iota$ ) at this point.
- 15 προνοίας. The reference for ἀπόνοια from 901 15 should be deleted from the lexica.

17 ]  $\eta \mu \eta \nu$  901, but I cannot recognize the last trace here before  $[\mu \eta]_{\gamma}$  as  $\eta$ . From this point 901 preserves rather more text than 3771, whose remains are too scanty to permit placing what 901 supplies. 901 was read ύπ' αὐτοῦ [23 letters]κόψας ὡς ἐκ τῶν [18 letters],...,ο̞ις τινὰς παράγετε [26 letters] θραςύτητι [29 letters]ovça [ (breaks off).

### 3772. Declaration of Prices

 $6.5 \times 10.5 \text{ cm}$ c. 338 71/21 bis (a)

This fragment from the top of a declaration of prices by the κοινον των ἐκδοχέων is more of I 85, republished by R. A. Coles in ZPE 39 (1980) 115-23. To be precise, it is more of the separate roll on which stand cols. v-vi of 85. As in them, the spaces left blank were never filled in; the hand is identical; and the new piece shares all the peculiarities distinguishing this series from 85 i-iv which are set out in ZPE 39 (1980) 116 except possibly one (see 1 n. below). I believe that it may once have directly preceded 85 v, thus further separating the two parts of 85, but I have not been able to confirm this by physically putting the papyri together.

For the curator addressed, Flavius Eusebius, see Appendix I below. 85 i-iv are precisely dated (26 November 338) but I prefer to assign a less specific date to this new piece since along with 85 v-vi it carries no indication of its date beyond having the same addressee as i-iv (see ZPE 39 (1980) 116).

Traces survive from the preceding column  $(-]\omega$  from its first line and -]v from its second) at the upper left edge here, slightly higher than ll. 1 and 2 respectively. The back is blank.

> Φλαουΐω Εὐςεβίω λογιςτη 'Οξυρυγχίτου παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν έκδοχέων της αὐτης πόλεως δι' έμοῦ  $A\dot{v}\rho\eta\lambda iov$  (vac.) (vac.) προςφωνώ ιδίω τιμήματι την έξης ένγεγραμμένην τιμήν ών χι-10 ρίζω ωνίων έπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ μη [νὸ] ς καὶ ομνύω τὸ [ν θεῖο]ν [c.5], [c.6]

> > 9-10 Ι. έγγεγραμμένην

10-11 Ι. χειρίζω

Ι φλαουΐω? See n.

8 ϊδιω

'To Flavius Eusebius, curator of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the middlemen(?) of the same city, through me Aurelius (vac.). I declare at my own risk the price entered below for the goods which I handle for this month, and I swear the divine . . .'

I A spot of ink above  $v_t$  of  $\Phi \lambda a o v_t^2 \omega$  may possibly be remains of a diaeresis over the iota; this would be

contrary to the pattern of I 85 v vi, see ZPE 39 (1980) 116.

4  $\epsilon \kappa \delta o \chi \epsilon \omega \nu$ . Variously translated 'forwarding agents' (LSJ), 'middlemen' (XIV 1669 2 n.), 'Spediteure' (M. San Nicolò, Åg. Vereinswesen (2nd edn., Munich 1972) i 129). The word receives no entry in CGL. Such broad terms leave one puzzled as to what item or items the  $\epsilon \kappa \delta o \chi \epsilon i \epsilon$  would have declared. They are frequently recorded as handling grain, but this was not their sole business; in XIV 1673 they are handling wine. Note also P. M. Fraser, Ptolemaic Alexandria i 186-7, ii 319 20, cited in the note to XLIX 3507 25, where  $\epsilon \kappa \delta o \chi \epsilon i \epsilon$  also occur in a context which may concern wine.

## 3773. COMMODITY PRICES

3 1B.81/D(2)

21.5 × 22 cm

c. 340

A substantial sheet of papyrus records the fluctuations in the price of gold, silver, and five basic commodities in the Oxyrhynchite nome (presumably) over a period of more than a year. The front carries the month-by-month prices from Thoth to the end of the year, but must have run back into the preceding year or years, see 1-3 n. The back begins in Thoth of what is probably the following year, but breaks off after three months. A close parallel is provided by LI 3628-33, but 3773 differs in recording the pricefluctuations month by month in one nome, whereas 3628-33 record the variations averaged over 4-month periods in a series of nomes. It would have been easy to put together information of this kind from a collection of documents such as 3773; 3773 for its part can really only have been assembled from a collection of guild price-declarations of the type featured plentifully in the present volume. Indeed the order of the commodities reflects to a certain extent the sequence of guilds proposed in Appendix II below. There are two immediate consequences from this conclusion: first, that the prices listed in 3773 are genuine open-market prices, not for example the level of refunds offered by the government in cases of compulsory purchase; second, that the guild of goldsmiths—no declaration of theirs survives intact-declared the price of the gold solidus in terms of talents and denarii. For possible evidence for the goldsmiths' use of gold coins as a source of raw material for the articles they fashioned, cf. P. Rainer Cent. 161. 22-3, though that passage may be otherwise explained.

The papyrus is not dated, apart from the month notations, but for a guide to its probable placing see R. S. Bagnall, Currency and Inflation in Fourth-century Egypt (BASP suppl. 5 (1985)) 38. On economic grounds a likely date may be in the late 330s or early 340s. Comparing also the list of prices assembled by R. S. Bagnall and P. J. Sijpesteijn, ZPE 24 (1977) 117–18, while remembering their caveat on p. 115, 3773 should post-date the prices for wheat and barley in 338 (24 tal. and 13\frac{1}{3}\tal., I 85). For the price of the gold solidus see Bagnall, Currency 61–2; also 3628 8 n. with references, and R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, ZPE 46 (1982) 246–7. 3773's gold prices (190–243\frac{1}{3}\tal., see below,

= 13680-17520 tal./lb.) fit neatly at the proposed date into the price structure outlined by Bagnall, Currency 61. See also J.-M. Carrié, Aeg. 64 (1984) 219-20. There is little other documentation for the solidus close to the price range attested by 3773, but 3773 ought to post-date the price of 183 $\frac{1}{3}$  tal. evidenced from SPP XX 81. 22 (re-ed. ZPE 22 (1976) 101-5 = SB XIV 11593; undated but assigned to the end of Constantine's reign (A. H. M. Jones, LRE i 440) or to the early 340s by Bagnall-Sijpesteijn, ZPE 24 (1977) 123-4; 338-41, Bagnall, Currency 39); the same document gives a wheat price of 26 tal. P. Lond. II 427 (p. 311 = P. Abinn. 68) may be nearly contemporary with 3773, the price of wheat being 50 tal./art.; P. Abinn. 43 has a barley price of 30 tal./art., higher than 3773. Both these texts are discussed briefly by Bagnall, Currency 41. His lists on p. 64 give their date as 'ca 348-351' against c. 342-51 on pp. 41, 67, and 70.

The ratio of gold to silver is probably meant to be consistently—if not always calculated absolutely accurately, see 53 n.-1:14.4, or in other words 1 lb. silver costs 5 solidi. For this rate—not otherwise certainly documented before 397—see 3628 9n. (For P. Oslo III 162 and the meaning of μονάς see XLVIII 3402 4-5 n. and LI 3636 18n.) The price of gold climbs through the period of the text, from a conjectured  $206\frac{2}{3}$  tal. (and perhaps 190 tal.) per solidus to  $243\frac{1}{3}$  tal., then drops to 240 tal. The price of silver follows suit, though the increases only take effect after a few months' delay; when the papyrus breaks off, the silver price has not yet settled to match the drop in the price of gold. For silver prices see LI 3624 17n. and Bagnall, Currency 28 and 62 (on p. 62 the figure for 3624 should read '45,333 T. 2000 dr.'). The other commodities show less a steady increase than an inconsistent irregular fluctuation. The changes up and down, from one month to the next, reach a magnitude of one-third and show only too clearly how unsafe a guide to inflation-rates isolated prices can be; while longer-term changes (but still within a year) reach no less than 77% (vegetable seed, from 45 up to 80 tal./artaba).

It will be useful to supplement the text and translation with the commodities and

prices tabulated, see Table 1. Prices are in talents.

The price-fluctuations for the five commodities other than gold and silver are perhaps in part to be explained as seasonal variation. Perhaps wheat, barley, and wine will fit the anticipated pattern of the highest prices coming just before the harvest, but lentils hardly will. There is no obvious explanation for the drop in barley, lentil, and vegetable-seed prices in Mecheir. The price-difference for lentils between one Thoth and (I presume) the next is striking. The figures for vegetable-seed suggest an autumn crop. The comparative values of barley, lentils, and wheat accord neither with the values given in 3628-33 (tabulated p. 73) nor with the statement in XLVII 3345  $46-7\,\mathrm{n.}\ (\mathrm{AD}\ 209)$  that lentils were generally equated or nearly equated with wheat. Note also LI 3625 16n. Known fourth-century prices for these commodities are listed by Bagnall, Currency 64-6.

The effects of inflation are reduced (but not entirely removed), for those in a position to profit, by the increase in the price of the solidus: e.g. the increase in the price

Table 1. Variations in commodity prices over fifteen months

	0	,													
	φώρ	Φα.	Άθ.	Xor.	$T\hat{v}$ .	$M\epsilon$ .	$\phi_{\alpha\mu}$ .	$\Phi^{\alpha\rho}$ .	$\Pi \alpha \chi$ .	Παύ.	$E_{\pi}$	Mec.	$\Theta \dot{\omega} \theta$	Φα.	710
νομιςματίου (each)	190? 2063? See 8n.	2063?	2333	23333	2333	2333	$233\frac{1}{3}$	2331	2433	2433	2433	2433	2433	240	240
ἀ <i>cήμου 1 lb.</i>		950?	1,0333	1,0333.	I,0333	$1,166_3^2$	1,1663		1,1862	1,1863	1,1863	1,1863	1,2133	1,2133	1,2133
cítov 1 art.		45	45		45	$46\frac{2}{3}$	50		50	45	45	17	O.F	40	405
κριθής 1 art.	20		20? or 25		25	20	25		15	15	20	205	70	. 2	4
факой 1 art.	20		22		25	22	25		20+	30	302	30	35	30	
λαχανοςπέρμου 1 art.			50		50	45	50			75	75		80	1	
olvou I sext.		I	Ι		I	Ι	<b>~</b> ₹♡	<u>-</u> 400		I.S.	5 ¥ C		н	) H	

of lentils is approximately 50% from one year-beginning to the next, but in terms of the buying-power of the solidus the increase reduces to approximately 25%.

There are two kolleseis, at the extreme right edges of cols. i and iii. The visible sheet distance between them is approx. 15 cm. Col. iv on the back is written larger and more coarsely (only partially because of the coarser papyrus texture) than the front, but the hand is the same.

On the back, and visible either side of the column transcribed here, are the faded remains of two columns; after a general heading, sub-headings a'  $\pi \acute{a}\gamma ov$ ,  $\beta'$   $\pi \acute{a}\gamma ov$ ,  $\gamma'$   $\pi \acute{a}\gamma ov$ , and  $\delta'$   $\pi \acute{a}\gamma ov$  are visible. The order of writing of the two texts is not certain, and it is not clear if there has been any deliberate attempt to efface this other text. Blank areas below a'  $\pi \acute{a}\gamma ov$  and  $\beta'$   $\pi \acute{a}\gamma ov$  may be due to absence of entries for these districts. The hand of this other text may be the same as that of **3773**.

```
col. i
                                                                  τάλ(αντα) κ
          Γκριθών
                                                                    τάλ(αντα) κ
          [φακοῦ
5
      [\Phi a \hat{\omega} \phi \iota]
          [νομιςματίου
                                                                            ٦. [. ]٧
          [αςήμου
          [ ςίτου
          [κριθών
ΙO
          φ[ακοῦ
          λαχανο [ επέρ (μου)
                                             \xi(\epsilon\epsilon\tau ov) a
                                                                     \tau \dot{\alpha} [\lambda(a\nu\tau o\nu)] a
          οἴνου
                                                                     τάλ(αντα) c[λγ (δηνάρια)] φ
      Αθύρ νομιςματίου
                                                                     τάλ(αντα) Άλγ (δηνάρια) φ
                                             \lambda i(\tau \rho a \epsilon) a
          άςήμου
15
                                             \vec{a}(\rho\tau\acute{a}\beta\eta\epsilon) a
                                                                     τάλ(αντα) με
          cίτου
                                             \vec{a}(\rho\tau\acute{a}\beta\eta\epsilon) a
                                                                     τάλ(αντα) κ
          κριθών
                                                                     τάλ(αντα) κβ
                                             \dot{a}(\rho\tau\dot{a}\beta\eta\epsilon) a
          φακοῦ
                                             ά(ρτάβης) α
                                                                     τάλ(αντα) ν
          λαχανοςπέρ (μου)
                                                                     τάλ(αντον) α
                                             \xi(\epsilon c \tau o v) a
          οἴνο[υ]
20
```

<sup>3</sup>  $\tau \alpha \lambda$ , and so below; the dot has been lost in 2 15  $\lambda$ , × 16  $\alpha$ .

```
Χοιάκ
              [vo\mu]_i[c\mu\alpha]\tau i[ov
                                                                                                         \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} \phi
              [ἀςήμου
                                                                                              ]..[..]. (δηνάρια) φ
                                                            col. ii
         Τύβι
             ν [ομις ]μ[ατ]ίου
 25
                                                                                τάλ(αντα) ελγ (δηνάρια) φ
             \vec{a}[c\eta]\mu ov
                                                                                τάλ(αντα) Άλγ (δηνάρια) φ
                                                    \lambda i(\tau \rho a \epsilon) a
             cίτου
                                                    \vec{a}(\rho\tau\acute{a}\beta\eta\epsilon) a
                                                                                τάλ(αντα) με
             κριθών
                                                    \vec{a}(\rho\tau\acute{a}\beta\eta\epsilon) a
                                                                                τάλ(αντα) κε
             φακοῦ
                                                    \vec{a}(\rho\tau\acute{a}\beta\eta\epsilon) a
                                                                                τάλ(αντα) κε
            λαχανοςπέρ (μου)
30
                                                    \vec{a}(\rho\tau\acute{a}\beta\eta\epsilon) a
                                                                                τάλ(αντα) ν
            οἴνου
                                                    \vec{a}(\rho\tau\acute{a}\beta\eta\epsilon) a
                                                                                τάλ(αντον) α
       Μεχείρ
            νομιςματίου
                                                                               τάλ(αντα) κλη (δηνάρια) φ
            άςήμου
                                                    \lambda i(\tau \rho a c) a
                                                                               τάλ(αντα) Άρξς (δηνάρια) Ά
            cίτου
                                                    \vec{a}(\rho\tau\acute{a}\beta\eta\epsilon) a
                                                                               τάλ(αντα) μς (δηνάρια) Ά
35
            κριθών
                                                    \vec{a}(\rho\tau\acute{a}\beta\eta\epsilon) a
                                                                               τάλ(αντα) κ
            φακοῦ
                                                    \dot{a}(\rho\tau\dot{a}\beta\eta\epsilon) a
                                                                               τάλ(αντα) κβ
            λαχανοςπέρ (μου)
                                                    \vec{a}(\rho\tau\acute{a}\beta\eta\epsilon) a
                                                                               \tau \dot{a} \lambda (a \nu \tau a) \mu \epsilon
            οἴνου
                                                    \xi(\epsilon c \tau o v) \alpha
                                                                               τάλ(αντον) α
       Φαμενώθ
            νομι[ς]ματίου
                                                                               τάλ(αντα) ελγ (δηνάρια) φ
            άςήμου
                                                                               τάλ(αντα) Άρξς (δηνάρια) Ά
                                                    \lambda i(\tau \rho a \epsilon) a
            cίτου
                                                    \vec{a}(\rho\tau\acute{a}\beta\eta\epsilon) a
                                                                               \tau \dot{\alpha} \lambda (a \nu \tau a)
            κριθών
                                                    \vec{a}(\rho\tau\acute{a}\beta\eta\epsilon) a
                                                                               τάλ(αντα) κε
            φακοῦ
                                                    ά (ρτάβης) α
45
                                                                               τάλ(αντα) κε
            λαχανοςπέρ (μου)
                                                   \vec{a}(\rho\tau\acute{a}\beta\eta\epsilon) a
                                                                               \tau \dot{a} \lambda (a \nu \tau a) \nu
            οἴνου
                                                    \xi(\epsilon c \tau o v) a
                                                                               τάλ(αντον) α (δηνάρια) φ
       \Phi[\alpha\rho]\mu \circ \hat{\theta}\iota
            [νο]μιςματίου
                                                                               τάλ(αντα) ελγ (δηνάρια) φ
50
                                                                                                 ]...[
```

31  $\dot{a}(\rho\tau\dot{a}\beta\eta\epsilon)$ : l.  $\xi(\dot{\epsilon}\epsilon\tau\sigma\upsilon)$ 

```
col. iii
                                                    ξ(έςτου) α
            οἴνου
                                                                                τάλ(αντον) α (δηνάρια) φ
      Παχών νομιςματίου
                                                                               [τά]λ(αντα) τμη (δηνάρια) φ
                                                                                τάλ(αντα) Άρπς (δηνάρια) Ά
            άςήμου
                                                    λί(τρας) α
            ςίτου
                                                    \vec{a}(\rho\tau\acute{a}\beta\eta\epsilon) a
                                                                                τάλ(αντα) ν
            κριθών
                                                    ά (ρτάβης) α
                                                                                τάλ(αντα) ιε
55
            φακοῦ
                                                    \vec{a}[(\rho\tau\acute{a}\beta\eta\epsilon)\ a]
                                                                                τάλ(αντα) κ.
                                                    ά (ρτάβης) α
                                                                                τάλ(αντα)
            \lambda \alpha \chi \alpha \nu \rho \epsilon \pi [\epsilon] \rho (\mu o \nu)
            οἴνου
                                                    \xi(\epsilon c \tau o v) \alpha
                                                                                \tau \dot{a} \lambda (a \nu \tau o \nu) [a] (\delta \eta \nu \dot{a} \rho \iota a) \phi
                                                                                τάλ(αντα) τμγ (δηνάρια) φ
      Παῦνι νομιςματίου
                                                                                τάλ(αντα) Άρπς (δηνάρια) Ά
            αςήμου
                                                    \lambda i(\tau \rho \alpha \epsilon) \alpha
60
            ςίτου
                                                     ά(ρτάβης) α
                                                                                τάλ(αντα) με
                                                                                τάλ(αντα) ιε
            κριθών
                                                     \vec{a}(\rho\tau\acute{a}\beta\eta\epsilon) a
                                                                                τάλ(αντα) λ
            φακοῦ
                                                     ά (ρτάβης) α
                                                     ά(ρτάβης) α
                                                                                τάλ(αντα) οε
            \lambda \alpha \chi \alpha v o c (\pi \epsilon \rho \mu o v?)
                                                                                τάλ(αντον) α (δηνάρια) φ
            οἴνου
                                                     \xi(\epsilon c \tau o v) \alpha
65
                                                                                τάλ(αντα) τμγ (δηνάρια) φ
      'Επεὶφ νομιςμ(ατίου)
                                                                                τάλ(αντα) Άρπς (δηνάρια) Ά
            αςήμου
                                                     \lambda i(\tau \rho a c) a
                                                     \vec{a}(\rho\tau\acute{a}\beta\eta\epsilon) a
                                                                                \tau \dot{a} \lambda (a \nu \tau a) \mu \epsilon
            ςίτου
                                                                                τάλ(αντα) κ
             κριθών
                                                     \vec{a}(\rho\tau\acute{a}\beta\eta\epsilon) a
                                                     \vec{a}(\rho\tau\acute{a}\beta\eta\epsilon) a
                                                                               [\tau \acute{a}\lambda(a\nu\tau a)]\dot{\lambda}
            φακοῦ
70
                                                     \dot{a}(\rho\tau\dot{a}\beta\eta\epsilon) a
                                                                                 \tau \dot{a} \lambda (a \nu \tau a) \quad o \epsilon
            λαχάνου
                                                                                 τάλ(αντον) α (δηνάρια) Ά
             οἴνου
                                                     \xi(\epsilon c \tau o v) a
                                                                                 \tau \acute{a}\lambda(a\nu\tau a) \varsigma[\mu\gamma](\delta\eta\nu\acute{a}\rho\iota a)\phi
       Μεςορή νομιζμ(ατίου)
                                                                                 τάλ(αντα) Άρπς (δηνάρια) Ά
             άςήμου
                                                                                 τάλ(αντα) με
             ςίτου
75
                                                                                 τάλ(αντα) κ
             \kappa \rho \iota \theta(\hat{\omega} \nu)
                                                                                [\tau \acute{a}]\dot{\lambda}(a\nu\tau a)\lambda
             \phi[a]\kappa[o]\hat{v}
                                                                                                     1. [
```

64 λαχανος pap.; l. λαχάνου (cf. 71)?

66 νομιςμ∫

76 κριθ-?

```
col. iv
(Back)
         \Theta \dot{\omega} \theta
                                                                      τάλ(αντα) τμγ (δηνάρια) φ
              νομιςματίου
   80
                                                                      τάλ(αντα) Άςιγ (δηνάρια) φ
              άςήμου
                                               \lambda i(\tau \rho a \epsilon) a
              ςίτου
                                               \vec{a}(\rho\tau\acute{a}\beta\eta\epsilon) a
                                                                     (τάλαντα) μ
              κριθών
                                                                                       K
              φακοῦ
                                                                                       \lambda \epsilon
              λαχ(ανοςπέρμου)
   85
                                                                                       \pi
              οἴνου
                                                                                       \alpha
         \Phi a \hat{\omega} \phi \iota
              νομιςματίου
                                                                                       c\mu
              άςήμου
                                                                                       Άςιγ (δηνάρια) φ
              ςίτου
                                                                                       μ
   90
              \kappa \rho \iota \theta(\hat{\omega} \nu)
                                                                                       κβ
              φακοῦ
                                                                                       λ
              λαχαν(οςπέρμου)
                                                                                       0€
              οἴνου
                                                                                       \alpha
        Αθύρ
   95
              νομιςματίου
                                                                                       ζμ
              άςήμου
                                                                                      Άςιγ (δηνάρια) φ
                                               \dot{a}(\rho\tau\dot{a}\beta\eta\epsilon) a
              [ς]ίτου
     85 \lambda \alpha \chi' A large blot of ink after \pi, probably accidental
                                                                             91 κριθ΄
                                                                                              93 λαχαν', altered
                              94 A dot below a, perhaps only a blot
from λαχανος or λαχάνου
                                                                                 98 See n.
                 (14-20) 'Hathyr. 1 solidus
                                                                           233 tal. 500 den.
                               Uncoined silver
                                                        ı lb.
                                                                         1,033 tal. 500 den.
                               Wheat
                                                        ı art.
                                                                            45 tal.
                               Barley
                                                        ı art.
                                                                            20 tal.
                               Lentils
                                                        ı art.
                                                                            22 tal.
                               Vegetable seed
                                                        ı art.
                                                                            50 tal.
                               Wine
                                                        ı sext.
                                                                              ı tal.'
                 (24-49) 'Tybi.
                               1 solidus
                                                                           233 tal. 500 den.
```

ı lb.

ı art.

ı art.

ı art.

I art.(!)

ı art.

1,033 tal.

45 tal.

25 tal.

25 tal.

50 tal.

ı tal.

500 den.

Uncoined silver

Vegetable seed

Wheat

Barley

Lentils

Wine

	Mecheir.		
	1 solidus		233 tal. 500 den.
	Uncoined silver	ı lb.	1,166 tal. 1,000 den.
	Wheat	ı art.	46 tal. 1,000 den.
	Barley	ı art.	20 tal.
	Lentils	ı art.	22 tal.
	Vegetable seed	ı art.	45 tal.
	Wine	ı sext.	ı tal.
	Phamenoth.		i teti.
	1 solidus		233 tal. 500 den.
	Uncoined silver	ı lb.	1,166 tal. 1,000 den.
	Wheat	ı art.	50 tal.
	Barley	ı art.	25 tal.
	Lentils	ı art.	
	Vegetable seed	ı art.	25 tal.
	Wine	ı sext.	50 tal.
	Pharmouthi.	I SCAL.	1 tal. 500 den.
	1 solidus		233 tal. 500 den.'
(51-77)	'Wine	ı sext.	t tal soo den
(31.77)	Pachon. 1 solidus	1 SCX1.	1 tal. 500 den. 243 tal. 500 den.
	Uncoined silver	ı lb.	10
	Wheat	ı art.	1,186 tal. 1,000 den.
	Barley		50 tal.
	Lentils	ı art.	15 tal.
	Vegetable seed	ı art.	20 + tal.
	Wine	ı art.	[ ] tal.
	Payni. 1 solidus	ı sext.	ı tal. 500 den.
	Uncoined silver	ı lb.	243 tal. 500 den.
	Wheat		1,186 tal. 1,000 den.
		ı art.	45 tal.
	Barley Lentils	ı art.	15 tal.
		ı art.	30 tal.
	Vegetable seed	ı art.	75 tal.
	Wine	ı sext.	ı tal. 500 den.
	Epeiph. 1 solidus	11	243 tal. 500 den.
	Uncoined silver	ı lb.	1,186 tal. 1,000 den.
	Wheat	ı art.	45 tal.
	Barley	ı art.	20 tal.
	Lentils	ı art.	30(?) tal.
	Vegetable seed	ı art.	75 tal.
	Wine	ı sext.	1 tal. 1,000 den.
	Mesore. 1 solidus		243 tal. 500 den.
	Uncoined silver		1,186 tal. 1,000 den.
	Wheat		45 tal.
	Barley		20 tal.
	Lentils		30 tal.'
(79-98)	'Thoth.		
	1 solidus		243 tal. 500 den.
	Uncoined silver	ı lb.	1,213 tal. 500 den.
	Wheat	ı art.	40 tal.
	Barley		20
	Lentils		35
	Vegetable seed		80
	Wine		I

Phaophi.			
1 solidus		240	
Uncoined silver		1,213	500 den.
Wheat		40	
Barley		22	
Lentils		30	
Vegetable seed		75	
Wine		I	
Hathyr.			
r solidus		240	
Uncoined silver		1,213	500 den.
Wheat	ı art.	,	

1-3 The prices in 2-3 must surely be for barley and lentils, comparing the prices in the table in the introduction above. Line 1 of the transcript, which though altogether lost would have been level with the top of the following column, would then contain wheat, and the Thoth prices for gold and silver must have come at the foot of the preceding column, so that the papyrus must have recorded prices back into the previous year.

7 The trace is not  $\phi$ , i.e. 500 den. It could be from A, 1,000 den., indicating a gold price of 206 $\frac{2}{3}$  tal.,

correct in relation to the silver price (which was slow to adjust) the following month (1,0331 tal.).

8 If  $\nu = 50$  is correct, the next price-step down for silver would be 950 tal./lb., indicating a gold price of 190 tal./solidus in Thoth or earlier (earlier is more likely, comparing the time-lag in other instances—see the tabulation in the introd.).

14 The price is restored by analogy with the prices from Tybi to Pharmouthi (col. ii). The price in

Phaophi was probably less, cf. 7 n.

17 It is possible that  $\kappa \epsilon$  was intended.

19 λαχανοςπέρ(μου). The descender of rho is cut by an oblique stroke rising to the right at a shallow angle; so also in 30, 38, 46, 57.

22 The price may be 233\frac{1}{3} tal. as in the following months.

23 The price may be 1,033\frac{1}{3} tal. as in the preceding month and the following month, but I cannot confirm this from the scanty traces.

39 For the form of  $\xi(\epsilon c \tau o v)$  see 3740 16–17 n.

45 The papyrus is badly warped in the second part of the line but the reading is not in doubt.

50 Probably  $]Ag\xi[$ , from the price for  $ac\eta\mu\nu\nu$ .

51 Two strokes in the margin above this line probably not significant.

- 53 This price corresponds to a price for the solidus of 237\frac{1}{3} tal., which does not actually occur. Are we to suppose an error, in place of a continued 1,166\frac{2}{3} tal. (34, 42, ?50), or were such variations in the proportion (cf. the introd.) admissible? Note that the rate of 1,186\frac{2}{3} tal. for silver is sustained till the end of the year (60, 67, 74). When the silver rate eventually rises to match (apparently) the new solidus rate from Pachon, it is given (81, 89, 97) as 1,213\frac{1}{3} tal. (corresponding to a solidus price of 242\frac{2}{3} tal.) instead of the expected 1,216\frac{2}{3} tal. which would accord strictly with the ratio of 1:14.4.
  - 58 The missing numeral will hardly be other than α, cf. the tabulated prices in the introd. above.

73 Talents-figure read by analogy with 52, 59, 66, and 80.

98  $\vec{a}(\rho\tau\dot{a}\beta\eta\epsilon)$  a is a rationalization of the papyrus text which has a single alpha struck through, thus  $\phi$ . The talent-indication is omitted; the price is indicated as two units, but  $\mu$  (the price in the two preceding months) is a possible alternative.

#### 3774. Declaration to the Logistes

3 iB.8i/B(i)a  $8 \times \text{ii cm}$   $34^{\text{i}}$ 

This document is primarily of interest for establishing the correct position of Flavius Eulogius in the logistae list, viz. between Flavius Eusebius (known 338) and Flavius Dionysarius (known from March 324): see Appendix I below.

The text is a nomination to a liturgy or liturgies whose identity is lost. For a list of such texts from the fourth century see CPR VII pp. 74-5. Add LI **3621** and **3623**; PSI XVII Congr. (= M. Manfredi *et al.*, *Trenta testi greci*, Florence 1983) no. 28; P. Harr. II 213.

There are traces of a four-layer kollesis in the left margin; the papyrus will once have formed part of a  $\tau \delta \mu o \epsilon c \nu \gamma \kappa o \lambda \lambda \dot{\gamma} \epsilon \iota \mu o \epsilon$ .

The back is blank.

```
ύπατείας Άντωνίου Μαρκ[ελλίνου]
   καὶ Πετρωνίου Προβίνου [τῶν λαμ(προτάτων).]
   Φλαουΐω Εὐλογίω λογιςτῆ ['Οξυρυγχίτου]
     παρὰ τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης ζεφὼ [ζ΄ πάγου?]
     δι' ήμῶν [τ]ῶν δημοςίων Α[ὐρηλίων]
     Ψεναμούνιος Ψόϊτος μίζ[ονος της]
     κώμης καὶ Άχιλλέους ...[....]
     τεςςαλαρίου καὶ Εὐδαίμον[ος Ἱέρα-?]
     κος καὶ ⟨'Ι⟩ουςτίνου Πτολε[μαίου]
     κωμαρχών, ἀκουλούθ[ως τοῖς]
10
     προςταχθεῖςιν ὑπὸ τοῦ [δια-]
     cημοτάτου ήγημόνος [της Αύγου-]
     cταμνικής Φλαουΐου 'Ιο[υλίου]
     Αὐςονίου δίδομεν κ[ινδύνω]
     ήμῶν καὶ πάν[των τῶν ἀπὸ]
     \tau \hat{\eta} \in \alpha[\vec{v}] \tau \hat{\eta} \in \langle \kappa \omega \rangle \mu \eta [c]
     [ c. 7 ].[
```

3 ['Oξυρυγχίτου]: the word was perhaps abbreviated 6 l. μείζονος 7 καί corr. from διά? 8 l. τεccεραρίου 10 l. ἀκολούθως 12 l. ἡγεμόνος

'In the consulship of Antonius Marcellinus and Petronius Probinus, [viri clarissimi(?).]

'To Flavius Eulogius, curator of the Oxyrhynchite, from the inhabitants of the village of Sepho in the 7th pagus, through us the public officials Aurelii Psenamounis son of Psois, headman of the village, and Achilles son of ..., tesserarius, and Eudaemon son of Hierax(?) and Justinus son of Ptolemaeus, comarchs. In accordance with the instructions of the praeses of Augustamnica, Flavius Julius Ausonius, vir perfectissimus, we present at our own risk and that of all the inhabitants of the said village . . . '

4 For Cεφώ see P. Pruneti, I centri abitati dell' Ossirinchite 176-7.

8 τεςςαλαρίου. Cf. LI 3621 5-6 n. 3774 is now the latest evidence for the office.

II-I4 For Fl. Julius Ausonius see L 3576-9, esp. 3576 10-I2 n. with references, and 3775. Published texts show him as in office between at least 13 November 341 and 1 July 342. Information about him is insufficient to restrict the placing of 3774 within 341.

14-16 Restorations are conjectural, especially the imposed correction in 16.

## 3775. Petition to the Logistes

71/40(b) 18.4 × 10.5 cm 1 July 342

This darkened and fragile papyrus preserves the beginning of a report of proceedings before Flavius Julius Ausonius, praeses Augustamnicae, preceded in a separate column by a petition or application to Flavius Eutrygius, curator of the Oxyrhynchite, referring to the appended proceedings. The second column was very wide, given the need to put the consular formula of 1-3 into one line there, see 15 n.

The text is of interest as providing the earliest attestation of Flavius Eutrygius as logistes; see Appendix I below. It also supplies our latest date for Flavius Julius Ausonius as *praeses* (previously 5 May 342 from P. Harr. 65); see 3774 11-14n.

The back is blank.

col. i

[ύπατεία]ς τῶν δεςποτῶν ἡμῶν [Κωνςτα]ντίου τὸ γ΄΄ καὶ Κώνςταντος [τὸ β]΄΄ Αὐγούςτων, Ἐπεὶφ ζ.

Φλαουΐ[ω Εὐ]τρυγίω λογιστῆ 'Οξ(υρυγχίτου)
παρὰ Α[ὐρηλί]ου 'Εξᾶ Cτεφάνου ἀπὸ τῆς
αὐτῆς π[όλε]ως. τῶν πραχθέντων
ὑπομν[η]μάτων παρὰ τῆ ἀρετῆ τοῦ
κυρίου [μου] διασημοτάτου ἡγεμόνος
τῆς Άγους[τ]αμνικῆς Φλαουΐ[ο]ψ
'Ἰρυλίου Α[ὐςο]νίου περὶ τοῦ παραδοθηναί μοι [τ]οῦ ἡμετέρου οἰκοπέδου
τὴν νομὴ[ν] διὰ τῆς σῆς εὐτονίας
εἴςον [τῷ βιβ]λιδί[ω] ὑποτάξας
[...].[

col. ii

15 ύπατείας τῶν δεςποτῶν ἡμ[ων

εἰςαχθέντος Ἑξᾶ ἀπὸ τῆς [

κληρονόμους Ἡρακλείδου [

4 οξ΄ 7 ϋπομν[η]ματων 9 l. Αὐγουςταμνικής; φλαουϊ[ο]υ 13 l. ἴζον 15 ϋπατειας? 16 An attempt made to wash out ξα of Έξ $\hat{a}$ ?

ύπήκου [c] εν, Άριος δ (ήτωρ) εἶ (πεν)· εν [
ποι... αλ[...] τῶν νόμων δι [
20 ἰκοῦς ἐκῖνοι ἐλθόντες ε [
οἰκοῦς ἐπεὶ τῷ απαν [
ὑπὸ τῆς μεγαλονοίας τ. [
ἃ οὐδὲν [.]. [...]. πα [
τὰ πεπρ [αγμένα?
25 ἡμερῶν . [
ἡγεμον [[...]... [

18 ει) 20 1. ἐκείνοι

(1-12) 'In the consulship of our masters Constantius for the 3rd time and Constans for the 2nd time,

Augusti, Epeiph 7.

'To Flavius Eutrygius, curator of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelius Hexas son of Stephanus, from the same city. Subjoining to the petition a copy of the minutes transacted before the Virtue of my lord praeses of Augustamnica, Flavius Julius Ausonius, vir perfectissimus, concerning the restoration to me of the possession of our property through Your Vigour . . . '

7 ἀρετή. See 3758 14 n.

12 εὐτονίας. For the honorific use of this word cf. BGU III 786 ii 1 and P. Brem. 9. 18 (both ii AD).

 $4 \left[ \tilde{a} \xi \right] \iota \left[ \tilde{\omega} \right]$ ?

15 The proceedings in the following lines are before the *praeses* Fl. Julius Ausonius, see 6-10. Given his known tenure, the nearest preceding imperial consulate, and the date of the creation of Augustamnica, the consulship here has to be that of 342 as in 1 3.

15-16 Marks of ink before the beginnings of these lines perhaps accidental.

18 ὑπήκου[c]εν. Probably a variation of the κληθέντος καὶ  $(\mu \dot{\eta})$  ὑπακούς αντος formula, for which see R. A. Coles, Reports of Proceedings 31 n. 4.

For the form of  $\dot{\rho}(\dot{\eta}\tau\omega\rho)$  see 3758 41 n.

20  $\dot{\lambda}$  ξυτεού. γυτεού could also be read. There are unexplained traces both below (first  $\epsilon$ ) and above ( $\epsilon$ 0) the word. If  $\dot{\lambda}$  ξυτεού is correct, [βου] $\dot{\lambda}$  ξυτέού? τὸ τε] $\dot{\lambda}$  ξυτέού (= τελευταΐου)?

22 μεγαλογοίας. Lat. magnanimitas. See H. Zilliacus, Unters. zu den abstrakten Anredeformen 72, 89, 106. More recently published examples are SB VI 9396. 1 and 9597. 3, PSI XIII 1342. 12 and XIV 1425. 2.

23 The beginning of the line could be otherwise articulated.

## 3776. Declarations of Prices

This papyrus preserves the declaration by the guild of  $\partial\theta$ ovio $\pi\hat{\omega}\lambda\alpha\iota$  more or less intact, despite its tattered appearance, plus ends of lines and beginnings of lines of the preceding and following declarations respectively. The papyrus is not a  $\tau \delta\mu$ oc  $cv\gamma\kappa \delta\lambda\lambda\eta$ ci $\mu$ oc although there is a kollesis between cols. i and ii (note that a line-end from col. i overruns it). The same hand wrote the main body of all three declarations.

Curiously the declaration of the  $\partial\theta$ ονιοπῶλαι in the centre column here is almost identical, word for word, with the later one of the  $\tau$ αρcικάριοι in LI 3626 (25 January 359), although in the latter the prices were never filled in. The parallelism is so close that the commentary on 3626 will in large part serve for the present text too. The explanation why two different guilds should make an identical declaration (or conversely what the difference is between the  $\partial\theta$ ονιοπῶλαι and the  $\tau$ αρcικάριοι) is still to be found. The third column here is clearly from the declaration of another but closely related guild of textile-merchants who handle—interalia—goods described as Laodicean, cf. 3626 4 n.

The papyrus provides the latest attestation for the logistes Flavius Eutrygius, for whom see Appendix I below.

Only line-ends remain from the preceding declaration, which we do not transcribe. No indication survives of the guild or of the items declared. The subscription is autograph, by  $[A \partial \rho] \dot{\eta} \lambda i o \Pi a \theta \epsilon \rho \mu o \dot{\nu} [\theta i o c?]$ . 3765 9 ff. could lead us to expect the guild of  $\epsilon \tau i \pi \pi o \chi \epsilon i \rho i \epsilon \tau a \dot{\nu}$  to precede, but the space may not suit; also, for what it is worth, the declaration from them in 3753 (AD 319) has four declarants against one in the present instance.

Distinction of hands, as often in these series of declarations, is not always easy. Here at least all three subscriptions are autograph. The statement of the identity of the declarant is handled casually, in the one place where it survives (6), both in the early stopping of the first hand (at  $\pi \delta \lambda \epsilon \omega c$ ) and in the minimum possible insertion of just the one name. The series is probably consistently plural-drafted ( $\chi \iota \rho \iota'$ ) $\zeta \circ \mu \epsilon \nu$  survives among the tattered traces of col. i), single declarants in cols. i–ii notwithstanding. Early stop and plural drafting are features shared by I 85 i–iv (re-ed. R. A. Coles, ZPE 39 (1980) 115–23; cf. ibid. 115–16 for an analysis of the often more rigorously circumscribed bureaucratic forms of these documents). I have compared a photograph of 85 (dated 338, five years earlier) with 3776; the main hands are similar in style, but not sufficiently similar (or dissimilar) to allow a decision that they are (or are not) the same.

The back is blank.

(m. 1)

col. ii

Φλαουΐω Εὐτρ[υγίω] λογιετῆ 'Οξυρυ[γχίτου] παρὰ τοῦ κοινο[ῦ τῶν] δθονιοπωλῶν τ[ῆε] αὐτῆε πόλεωε (added, m. 1?) δι(ὰ) Αττίωνοε. προεφωνοῦμεν ἰδίω

6 δι ατ' τιωνος

<sup>5</sup> Final c extended to form filling-stroke

```
τιμήματι την έξης έν-
              γεγραμμένην τιμήν
              ών χιρίζομεν ώνίων
      10
               είναι έπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ μηνὸς
               καὶ όμνύομεν τὸν θεῖον
               őρκον μηδèν διεψεῦcθαι.
                      ἔςτι δέ·
               [δ] θό [νης π] αντοίας δαλματικ (ων)
      15
               [γυναικ(είων) τ]αρεικ(ῶν) μεγάλ(ου) μέτρ(ου)
               α [είδέα]ς
                                     ζ(εύγους) α
                                                              \tau \dot{\alpha} \lambda (\alpha \nu \tau \alpha) (added, m. 1?) \nu
              \beta \in i[\delta \in ]ac
                                     ζ(εύγους) α
                                                              \tau \dot{\alpha} \lambda (\alpha \nu \tau \alpha) (added, m. 1?) \xi \xi \xi (\delta \eta \nu \dot{\alpha} \rho \iota \alpha) A
(m. I)
              \gamma [\epsilon] i\delta \epsilon a c
                                     ζ(εύγους) α
                                                              \tau \dot{a} \lambda (a \nu \tau a) (added, m. 1?) c
(m. 1)
              άναβ[ολα]δίων όμοίως.
(m, I)
              α είδέας
                                     ζ(εύγους) α
                                                              \tau \dot{\alpha} \lambda (a \nu \tau a) (added, m. 1?) \epsilon
      21
              β είδέας
                                     ζ(εύγους) α
                                                              \tau \dot{a} \lambda (a \nu \tau a) (added, m. 1?) \epsilon
(m. 1)
              γ είδέας
                                     ζ(εύγους) α
                                                              \tau \dot{\alpha} \lambda (\alpha \nu \tau \alpha) (added, m. 1?) \rho_{\perp}
(m. I)
              c[\tau]\iota\chi\alpha\rho\iota\omega\nu\delta[\mu]\circ\iota\omega\epsilon
(m. 1)
              α΄ είδέας [
      25
              β΄ εἰδέας
                                     ζ(εύγους) α
                                                              \tau \dot{\alpha} \dot{\lambda} (a \nu \tau a) (added, m. 1?) ...
                                                              \tau \acute{a}\lambda(a\nu\tau a) (added, m. 1?) \rho\lambda\gamma (\delta\eta\nu\acute{a}\rho\iota a) \phi
              γ είδέας
                                     ζ(εύγους) α
(m. 1)
              φακιαλίων δμοίως.
(m. 1)
              α είδέας
                                     ζ(εύγους) α
                                                              \tau \dot{\alpha} \lambda (a \nu \tau a) (added, m. 1?) \rho \xi
      29
              β εἰδέας
                                     \zeta(\epsilon \acute{v}\gamma o v \epsilon) a
                                                              \tau \acute{a} \lambda (a \nu \tau a) (added, m. 1?) \rho \kappa
m. I
               γ είδέας
                                     ζ(εύγους) α
                                                              \tau \dot{a} \lambda (a \nu \tau a) (added, m. 1?) \rho
(m. I
(m. 1) [ύπατεία]ς Φουρίου Πλακίδου καὶ Φλαουΐου
            ['Ρωμώλο]υ τῶν λαμ(προτάτων), 'Επεὶφ λ'.
                        [Αὐρ]ήλιος Άττίων προς-
(m, 2)
                         [φ]ωνῶ ὡς πρόκιτε.
      35
                                                                 15 δαλματι<sup>K</sup>
                                                                                       16 ταρει κμεγαλ.
                                                                                                                 17 ff. ταλ·
     8-9 1. ἐγγεγραμμένην
                                     10 l. χειρίζομεν
                34 ατ'τιων
                                     35 Ι. πρόκειται
33 λαμ∫
```

```
col. iii
```

```
είναι ἐπὶ τοῦδ[ε τοῦ μηνὸς]
(m. 1)
            καὶ ὀμ[νύομεν τὸν θεῖον ὅρκον]
           μη[δ] εν δ[ιεψεῦςθαι.]
                  [ἔςτι δέ·]
           \dot{\omega}\rho[\alpha]\rho[i\omega\nu]
     40
            Λαδικη[νῶν
           ύποδεες τερ-
           δαλματικ( ) .[
           \mu\epsilon	au
ho( ) [
     45
           ύποδε [εςτερ-
            ςτιχαρί[ων
            [....]..[
            [....]..[
     50
            E_{\pi\epsilon i \phi} \lambda.
            Αὐρή[λιο-
(m. 3)
               προς φων-
     55
```

44 δαλματι<sup> $\kappa$ </sup>

Col. ii

'To Flavius Eutrygius, curator of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the linen-merchants of the same city' (added, m. 1?) 'through Attion.' (m. 1) 'At our own risk we declare the price entered below for the goods which we handle to be (the price) during this month, and we swear the divine oath that we have been deceitful in nothing. As follows:

'Linen of all kinds:

```
'Ladies' Tarsian sleeved tunics, large size:

'Ist quality I pr. tal.' (added, m. 1?) '400.'

(m. 1) '2nd quality I pr. tal.' (added, m. 1?) '266, den. 1,000.'

(m. 1) '3rd quality I pr. tal.' (added, m. 1?) '200.'

(m. 1) 'Shawls likewise:

'Ist quality I pr. tal.' (added, m. 1?) '2...'

(m. 1) '2nd quality I pr. tal.' (added, m. 1?) '2...'

(m. 1) '3rd quality I pr. tal.' (added, m. 1?) '1...'
```

(m. 1) 'Tunics likewise:

'1st quality [
'2nd quality 1 pr. tal.' (added, m. 1?) '...'

(m. 1) '3rd quality 1 pr. tal.' (added, m. 1?) '133, den. 500.'

(m. 1) 'Facecloths likewise:

'1st quality 1 pr. tal.' (added, m. 1?) '160.'

(m. 1) '2nd quality 1 pr. tal.' (added, m. 1?) '120.'

(m. 1) '3rd quality 1 pr. tal.' (added, m. 1?) '100.'

(m. 1) 'In the consulship of Furius Placidus and Flavius Romulus, viri clarissimi, Epeiph 30.'

(m. 2) 'I, Aurelius Attion, declare as aforesaid.'

6 Άττίωνος. Note 3746 introd. ad fin.

11 εἶναι and ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ μηνός are among the variations found in the formula of these declarations; often both omitted, both occur in LI 3624-6 and in I 85 i-iv (ZPE 39 (1980) 116-19), while ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ μηνός also occurs without εἶναι, in the same position (85 vi) or preceding ὧν χειρίζω/-ομεν ὧνίων (3766).

15-19 These entries reappear in the earlier summary 3765 12-15, of c. 327: the price of the first quality

has increased tenfold between then and 343. See Appendix III below.

16  $\mu \acute{e}\tau \rho(ov)$ . The descender of rho is cut by an oblique stroke rising to the right at a shallow angle; so also in 45.

17  $\zeta(\epsilon \acute{\nu} \gamma o \upsilon \epsilon)$ . The abbreviation is a very rapid cursive zeta with a horizontal cutting it in the middle.

Cf. 3765 13. The prices of the items in LI 3626 are calculated by the  $\tau\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{a}\lambda accov$ . For the possibility of  $\zeta(\epsilon\acute{v}\gamma ovc)$  being the correct expansion of the abbreviation cf. the comments on  $\delta\acute{c}\lambda accov$ , 3626 16–17 n. The equation complicates rather than eases the explanation of the  $-\lambda accov$  compounds. For pairs note also P. Mich. VIII 468. 10–11, perhaps contrasting 14–15 there.

18 Note that 66 tal. 1,000 den. =  $\frac{2}{3}$  of 100 tal. Cf. 27 and n.

20 Less likely is  $d\nu a\beta [o\lambda]a\mu\nu$ . Note LI 3626 21 n.

21-3 The damaged prices must fall within a certain pattern. The second quality (22) may be just 200, although it could be more. The first quality is obviously over 200, and the one-third/two-thirds pattern is likely (cf. the amounts in 18 and 27). Likewise with the third quality, which is over 100 (but less than 200).

24  $c\tau\iota\chi($ ) in LI 3626 24 may presumably now be expanded to  $c\tau\iota\chi(\alpha\rho\iota\omega\nu)$ , cf. the note ad loc.

- 25 Scanty traces in fact survive of  $\zeta(\epsilon \acute{\upsilon}\gamma o\upsilon c)$  a  $\tau \acute{a}\lambda(a\nu\tau a)$  but on scraps of loose fibre. No traces of the price survive.
- 27  $\alpha \tau \acute{a} \lambda (a\nu \tau a)$  must represent the writer's intention, but the strokes are reduced to no more than  $a\lambda$ . Note that 33 tal. 500 den. =  $\frac{1}{3}$  of 100 tal. Cf. 18 and n.

32 The consulship begins in ecthesis in the blank space left below the shorter preceding column.

- 37  $\partial \mu [\nu \nu o \mu \epsilon \nu]$ . The series is probably consistently plural-drafted, even though the declarant is single (as in cols. i-ii): cf. the introd. above.
- 40 For ἀράριον = Lat. orarium, 'napkin, handkerchief' LS (not in the OLD), see the Edictum de Pretiis ed. M. Giacchero, §26. 162-82, with the commentary of S. Lauffer, Diokletians Preisedikt 275. The edict lists ἀραρίων Λαδικηνῶν among other varieties.

41 Λαδικη[νῶν. Possibly abbreviated Λαδικς?

43 For ὑποδεέςτερος in these declarations cf. 3752 19, 3753 20, 3765 8, 41, 43, 45, 47. καταδεέςτερος is the adjective regularly used in the *Edictum de Pretiis*.

53 λ. Probably λ' as in 33, but all except the left foot of λ is broken away.

## APPENDIX I

# THE CURATORES CIVITATIS OF OXYRHYNCHUS, 303-346

A by-product of the texts in this volume has been a substantial increase in our prosopographical data relating to the logistes or curator civitatis. I do not attempt any synthesis of his responsibilities etc.; for that the standard reference remains B. R. Rees, 77P 7-8 (1953-4) 83-105. On pp. 104-5 Rees provides a list of the then known holders of the office, which has been superseded by the list of K. A. Worp, BASP 13 (1976) 38-40; Worp's list in turn is rendered obsolete—for Oxyrhynchus up to 346—by the new list presented below. To the above bibliography add J. Lallemand, L'Admin. civile 107-14. J. G. Keenan discusses the status (Valerius or Flavius, as against Aurelius) of the curator in ZPE 11 (1973) 44-6, 49 and 13 (1974) 290-1, 294, 297, 302; add XLV 3256 1 n., XLVI 3306 In., 3308-11. The length of tenure of the office is discussed by Rees, op. cit. 95-6 and Lallemand, op. cit. 113. Our new documentation greatly extends the data available as a basis for judgement; the shortest maximum-possible term that can be deduced from the list below is around one year, while the longest attested term is around five years (unless new evidence breaks the continuity of tenure) and the longest possible term around six years.

Aurelius Seuthes alias Horion

Earlier career:

297/8(?)

Gymnasiarch, XLV 3246 6

For P. Oslo III 135 and some other contemporary mentions of a Seuthes simply,

see the introd. to P. Harr. II 230-4.

Earliest attestation as logistes:

3727

Interim and undated attestations:

Feb./Mar. 306

VI 895

3728

29 May 306

XVII 2106, XVIII 2187, XXXIII 2673 carry references to an unnamed logistes

within this period; presumably he will be Seuthes alias Horion.

Latest attestation as logistes:

4 May 307

Out of office by:

29-30 Sept. 308 P. Lond. inv. 2226 (J. Lallemand, L'Admin. civile 265).

Out-of-office references:

s.d. but

assigned c. 308/9 XXXIII 2666

XXXIII 2667. Line 18 implies that Seuthes was the direct predecessor of Heron. 22 June 309

Valerius Heron alias Sarapion

Commenced office after:

4 May 307

Earliest attestation as logistes:

29-30 Sept. 308 P. Lond. inv. 2226 (J. Lallemand, L'Admin. civile 265).

```
Interim and undated attestations:
        28 June,
        year uncertain XLIV 3193. See the discussion by J. R. Rea, LI 3618 1-4n.
        s.d. but
        assigned c. 308/9 XXXIII 2666
                         XXXIII 2667
        22 June 309
                         3731
        c. 310-11
                         3730
        s.d.
                         3732-5
        25 May 312
        312 (27 Sept.?) 3736
    Latest attestation as logistes:
                         3737, 3739, 3740
         27 Sept. 312
    Out of office by:
                         XLVI 3305
         16 Mar. 313
    Out-of-office references:
                          XLV 3256 (Aurelius Heron alias Sarapion)
         317/18
Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius (first period of office)
    Commenced office after:
                         3737, 3739, 3740
         27 Sept. 312
     Earliest attestation as logistes I:
                         XLVI 3305
         16 Mar. 313
     Interim and undated attestations:
         s.d.
         (assigned c. 314) XLVI 3306 (Aurelius Ammonianus alias Gerontius)
         July-Sept. 313 3741 introd.
                          VI 983 (= SB III 6003)
         21 Feb. 316
         25 Feb. 316
                          I 53
                          VI 896 (col. ii: 1 Apr. 316)
         316
                          I 84 (= W. Chr. 197)
         1 Nov. 316
         26 Nov. 317
                          3742
     Latest attestation as logistes I:
         15 Jan. 318
                          XXXIII 2675
     Out of office by:
         318 (month not
                          3743, 3744, 3745
         determined)
Valerius Dioscurides alias Julianus (first period of office)
```

Earlier career:

It is not certain how many persons are involved in the following references, and which of them is to be identified with the later logistes. For a discussion see esp. J. G. Keenan, ZPE 11 (1973) 45 6 and 13

- (	1974) 297-	
S	ept.? 271	XII 1413. Julianus alias Dioscurides, exegetes. (For date see A. K. Bowman, Town
	1 /	Councils of Roman Egypt 151-3.)
2	93	P. Vindob. Salomons 7. Aur. Julianus alias Dioscurides, ex-hypomnematographus
		and bouleutes of Alexandria, ex-prytanis and bouleutes of Oxyrhynchus.
2	96	SB VI 0502. Aur. (rather than Val.: J. G. Keenan, ZPE 11 (1973) 45) Julianus
	3	alias Dioscurides, ex-hypomnematographus, ex-prytanis and gymnasiarch
		and bouleutes of Oxyrhynchus, protostates.
I	7 July 299	P. Laur. III 67 (see IV p. 14). [Julianus] alias Dioscurides, hypomnematographus,
	73 7 33	bouleutes of Oxyrhynchus.
2	104	XVIII 2187. Dioscurides, ex-magistrate.
i	304 ii-iv	XIV 1747 64. Dioscurides son of Julianus, γεουχών.

310 or 311? P. Mert. II 90 (for date see XXXIII 2668 introd., with XLIII 3120 8-on, and P. Coll. Youtie II 79). Aur. Dioscurides [al. Julianus], strategus. PSI VIII 886. 8 may provide a reference to his tenure, in 310/11. P. Köln IV 199. 13 (s.d.) may also refer

to him.

XXXIII 2668 (= SB VIII 9875 re-ed.). Aur. Dioscurides alias Julianus, strategus 22 Aug. 311

of the Oxyrhynchite.

XXXI 2585. Aur. Dioscurides alias Julianus, (ex-?)gymnasiarch, ex-prytanis and Oct./Nov. 315 bouleutes of Oxyrhynchus. (On the titles, note A. K. Bowman, op. cit. 137 n. 27, and N. Lewis, BASP 7 (1970) 109-10. I have re-examined the original in an attempt to read γυμναcιαρχήταν|τι in 3-4. Up to  $\chi$ , traces are present of all the letters and none is really in doubt despite the damage; but I cannot elicit  $\eta cav$  from what is left at the end of the line.)

Set out thus, the evidence supports the tentative suggestion of J. G. Keenan, ZPE 11 (1973) 45, that we are dealing with two members of the same family, probably father and son; the father being Julianus alias Dioscurides and the son the subsequent logistes Dioscurides alias Julianus. The attested offices would accord with the two distinct careers implied by this hypothesis. That the hypothesis is correct may reasonably be taken as proven by P. Harr. II 212, addressed to the logistes Dioscurides son of Julianus. The family was clearly of standing in both Alexandria and Oxyrhynchus. The references to the son as strategus of the Oxyrhynchite are not at variance with this theory, since by this date the strategus was of course no longer from a nome different from where he held office (XLIII 3123 3 n.). For a third generation of this family cf. 3755 27-8 n. and the entry below for Flavius Julianus.

Commenced office after:

15 Jan. 318 **XXXIII 2675** 

Only attestations as logistes I:

318 (month

not determined) 3743, 3744, 3745

Out of office by:

23-5(?)

Mar. 319 3746

Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius (second period of office)

Commenced office after:

318 (month

not determined) 3743, 3744, 3745

Earliest attestation as logistes II:

23-5(?)

Mar. 319 3746 (logistes)

Interim and undated attestations:

26 Mar. 319 3748-53 (acting logistes) 320 (month and

day lost) 3754 (acting logistes)

Latest attestation as logistes II:

Jan./Feb. 320 PSI V 454, where J. R. Rea has re-read line 6 to give Γεροντίω [δι]οικοῦντ[ι λο] $\gamma$ ιςτίq[ $\nu$  ' $O\xi(\nu\rho\nu\gamma\chi$ ίτου), i.e. acting logistes: this correction has not previously

been published.

Out of office by:

27 Sept. 320 3755

Out-of-office references:

7 Nov. 331 PSI VII 767.28? [κληρο(νόμοι) Άμμω] γιανοῦ ἀπὸ λογιστῶν? (Κ. Α. Worp by letter);

18 Sept. 334 PSÍ V 469, κληρονόμοις Άμμωνιανοῦ ἀπὸ λογιςτῶν (cf. K. A. Worp, BASP 13 (1976)

1

Valerius Dioscurides alias Julianus (second period of office)

Commenced office after:

Jan./Feb. 320 PSI V 454 (see above)

225 Earliest attestation as logistes II: 27 Sept. 320 3755 Interim and undated attestations: VI 900 (see XLVI 3305 3 n.) 30 July 321 P. Harr. II 212. Dioscurides son of Julianus. 322 or 323 18 Jan. 323 I 42. Dioscurides only. There is no need to consider whether Dioscurides may be a different logistes from Dioscurides alias Julianus; the Julianus was presumably dropped to avoid confusion with the son, now entering public office (cf. 3755 and the entry below for Flavius Julianus). It may be that Fl. Julianus' full name included alias Dioscurides, but there is no evidence of this as yet. XLI 2969 (for date cf. XLI 2993). Dioscurides only. 3 Mar. 323 XXXVI 2767. Dioscurides only. 29 Mar. 323 P. Harr. II 214. Dioscurides only. 324 3-18 Mar. 325 3758. Dioscurides only (see ll. 3-4). XII 1509. Dioscurides only; the logistes? s.d. Latest attestation as logistes II: Mar./Apr. 325 XLIII 3125. Valerius Dioscurides only. Out of office by: July/Aug. 325 I 52 Flavius Leucadius Earlier career: For the possibility of a connection with the prytanis of Feb./Mar. 325, see 3758 18n. Commenced office after: Mar./Apr. 325 XLIII 3125 Earliest attestation as logistes: July/Aug. 325 I 52 Interim and undated attestations: 2 Oct. 325 June/July 326 XLV 3265 3760? 326? Latest attestation as logistes: Sept./Dec. 326 XLV 3249 Out of office by: I 83 and 83a 16 Jan. 327 For the spelling of the name see 3765 49 n. Commenced office after:

#### Flavius Thannyras

Sept./Dec. 326 XLV 3249

Earliest attestation as logistes:

I 83 and 83a. The date is not 16 February (= 22 Mecheir) as given in R. S. Bagnall 16 Jan. 327 and K. A. Worp, Chron. Systems of Byzantine Egypt 109.

Interim and undated attestations:

3765

Latest attestation as logistes:

I 83 and 83a (see above) 16 Jan. 327

Out of office by:

27 Oct. 329 3766 (= XXXI 2570 re-ed.)

## Flavius Julianus

Earlier career:

Deputy-logistes? 3755 27 Sept. 320

Commenced office after:

I 83 and 83a 16 Jan. 327

Earliest attestation as logistes:

3766 (= XXXI 2570 re-ed.) 27 Oct. 329

Interim and undated attestations: **XLVII 3350** 12 Jan. 330

s.d. P. Harr. 73 (see ZPE 37 (1980) 229 ff.)

iii-iv

P. Mich. inv. 411 (ed. H. C. Youtie, ZPE 37 (1980) 217-18 = Script. Post. ii 581-2). Julianus, son of Dioscurides (no titles) appears in a possibly Oxyrhynchite name-list. Fl. Julianus the logistes seems a likely candidate for the identification (the script is a good official cursive, see ZPE 37 pl. VIIb) or at least a member of his family, conceivably his grandfather (see above under Val. Dioscurides alias Julianus), but I should be inclined to date the text iv rather than iii. This proposed identification strengthens the case for its Oxyrhynchite provenance. Further proof of that comes from recognizing the name of Eutonius alias Uranius (l. 4 in the Michigan text) in XLIV 3189 5-6 (Εὐτρυγίου ed.), a tax-receipt assigned to the late third or early fourth century.

Latest attestation as logistes:

13-14(?)

June 331 **XLIV 3195** 

Out of office by:

7 Nov. 331 PSI VII 767. 2 (see below under Fl. Hermias)

Out-of-office references:

In PSI VII 767.28 (7 Nov. 331) ]ιανου (so ed.) will surely be preceded by κληρο (νόμοι), cf. 23, and cannot therefore refer to Julianus as suggested in XLIV 3195 3 n. Presumably Ammonianus was named, cf. p. 224. The Julianus son of Ammonianus in P. Ross.-Georg. V 28 (cited in XLIV 3195 3n.) is not to be identified with our Julianus, son of Dioscurides (cf. 3755 and the discussions above).

Later career:

Feb./Mar. 334 Syndic. 3769 (Fl. Julianus) 26 Mar. 334 Syndic. 3770 (Aur. Julianus)

1 May 336 Acting syndic. 3771 and VI 901 (Fl. Julianus)

Sept./Oct. 360 PSI V 467: a Fl. Julianus(?) held a post in the office of the praeses of Augustamnica. I am indebted to Dr Rosario Pintaudi for a photograph and an examination of the text; a reading (l. 1)  $\Phi \lambda aovi[\omega]$  ' $Io[v]\lambda \iota[av\hat{\omega}]$  seems possible. For the post held, perhaps cf. XLIX **3480** 1, βενεφικιαρίω τάξεως, which if abbreviated  $(\beta\phi/)$  might conceivably fit the space in PSI 467. Nevertheless, it is not clear that this would be a likely step in the career of our Julianus, who would have been in his sixties (or

more) at this date.

Flavius Hermias

Earlier career:

17 Aug. 323 Strategus. I 60. See J. E. G. Whitehorne, ZPE 29 (1978) 184. Named Hermias

only. See also 3746 48 n.

31? July 324 Strategus. XII 1430. Hermias only.

Mar./Apr. 325 Strategus. XLIII 3125. Aur. Hermias. This then is a different Hermias from Claudius Hermias the later ἔκδικος (XLIV 3195), and the other two strategusreferences are likely to be to this same Aur. Hermias. There is possibly a reference

1

to him as out of office in PSI III 201 (7 March 327: see P. J. Sijpesteijn and K. A. Worp, ZPE 26 (1977) 278), but in any case he was out of office by 11 February 327. (Aur. Veronicianus in office: J. E. G. Whitehorne, ZPE 29 (1978) 184). It is possible, but much less likely, that it is Claudius Hermias who becomes Flavius Hermias the logistes: for other gentilicia at this period, see J. G. Keenan, ZPE 11

(1973) 47, 51.

Commenced office after:

13-14(?)

**XLIV 3195** June 331

Earliest attestation as logistes:

7 Nov. 331

PSI VII 767. 2. In the introduction to that text the possibility was put forward of reading Mecheir for Hathyr in l. 2 and converting l. 1 to a post-consulate (thus 332); this possibility is hardly still open, because the consuls for 332 were already known in Mecheir 332, see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, Chron. Systems of Byzantine Egypt 110. (Conversely, a date to Mecheir 331 is excluded because Julianus was still logistes, see above. The 331 consuls were known this early, see Bagnall and Worp in BASP 17 (1980) 13.) The edition wrongly converts Hathyr 10 in 331 to 6 November instead of 7 November.  $\mu oi$  in 4 provides reasonable assurance for the restoration of Hermias' name in 3. The puzzle remains of the apparent later date in 7 (Hathyr 11, ed.) which ought to antedate Hathyr 10 in line 2. I have tried reading a different month (thanks to a photograph kindly supplied by Dr Rosario Pintaudi) but without success. It may be wrong to seek a date here, and we should rather look for an introductory formula on a par with those in 30 and 35. If so, 7 November 331 remains the earliest precise and reasonably secure date we have for Hermias as logistes.

Latest attestations as logistes:

332 (month and

day lost) XII 1426, XLIII 3127

Out of office by:

s.d. Tenure of Fl. Asclepiades (3768); or

26 Mar. 336 X 1265

Later career:

25 Oct. 336 Syndic. P. Freib. 11 = SB III 6294

Flavius Asclepiades

The placing of Asclepiades, so far attested solely by the undated 3768, at this point in the list is conjectural. See the discussion in 3768 introd.

Commenced office after:

332 (month and

day lost) XII 1426, XLIII 3127

Only attestation as logistes:

s.d. **3768** 

Out of office by:

26 Mar. 336 X 1265

#### Flavius Paeanius alias Macrobius

For the correction of Paranius to Paeanius see P. Oxy. XXXVIII p. xiv.

Earlier career:

s.d.

Strategus. XXII 2344. This text poses a problem, since Paeanius is styled Flavius and the evidence indicates that strategi in this period were not ex officio Flavii (J. G. Keenan, ZPE 13 (1974) 291 n. 171). On the other hand, the strategus was junior to the logistes (the logistae at this time were Flavii and may have retained the name on leaving office: cf. 3771 3 n.), and tenure of the junior post subsequent to the senior post is hardly conceivable. Dr J. D. Thomas would now withdraw (personal communication of 30 July 1984) his suggestion in CE 34 (1959) 130 that Paeanius is in fact logistes in 2344. We must, I think, conclude that Paeanius was entitled to the name Flavius on other grounds, possibly military service.

Commenced office after:

s.d. Tenure of Fl. Asclepiades (3768); or

332 (month and

day lost) XII 1426, XLIII 3127

Earliest attestation as logistes: 26 Mar. 336 X 1265

Interim and undated attestations:

s.d. X 1303

Latest attestation as logistes:

26 Mar. 336 X **1265** (see above)

Out of office by:

13 Jan. 338 VI **892** 

#### Flavius Eusebius

Commenced office after:

26 Mar. 336 X 1265

Earliest attestation as logistes:

13 Jan. 338 VI **892** 

Interim and undated attestations:

28 Mar. 338 I 86

c. 338 **377**5

There is no evidence that Eusebius was the addressee of the undated PSI III 202, although economic and scribal considerations (cf. Appendix III and Appendix IV below) mean that a dating c. 338 must be approximately right.

Latest attestation as logistes:

26 Nov. 338 I **85** 

Out of office by:

341 (no month

or day) 3774

#### Flavius Eulogius

Earlier career:

There is a scant possibility of identity with the deputy strategus in early January 316 (XVII 2113: J. E. G. Whitehorne, ZPE 29 (1978) 184), if this were a junior appointment held by Eulogius as a young man. The identity will hardly be compatible with identifying the ex-logistes with the  $\pi o \lambda \iota \tau e \nu o \mu e \nu o c$  365 (XLVIII 3393, see below). Given Eulogius' attested activity as riparius in 350 (see below), it is more plausible to link him with his namesake of 365 than with the deputy strategus back in 316. Similar but less cogent arguments apply to identifying him with the  $\pi \acute{a} \rho e \acute{o} \rho o c$  of 3757 4 (325) and elsewhere. There is no reason to associate the later logistes with the private person in P. Princ. II 79 (326).

Commenced office after:

26 Nov. 338 I 85

Earliest attestation as logistes:

341 (no month

or day)

3774

Interim and undated attestations:

s.d. XVII 2115. The date previously attributed to this text, 'c. 345' (BASP 13 (1976)

39), cannot stand.

Latest attestation as logistes:

341 (no month

or day)

**3774** (see above)

Out of office by:

1 Mar. 342

I 87: the unpublished second column is dated Phamenoth 5.

Out-of-office references:

s.d. XIX **2235**: ἀπὸ λογιττῶν, ῥιπαρίῳ. Cf. below. iv P. Princ. II 98? See XIX **2233** 2 n., **2235** 1 n.

Later career:

 346
 Riparius. VI 897

 s.d.
 Riparius. XIX 2229

 s.d.
 Riparius. XIX 2235

 350
 Riparius. P. Harr. II 218

7 June 350

Riparius, XIX 2233

8 June 365

πολιτευόμενος. XLVIII 3393. The possibility of identifying this Eulogius with the ex-logistes is discussed above under the heading of Eulogius' earlier career.

#### Flavius Dionysarius

Commenced office after:

341 (no month

or day)

Earliest attestation as logistes:

1 Mar. 342

I 87: the unpublished second column is dated Phamenoth 5.

Latest attestation as logistes:

5 May 342

P. Harr. 65

Out of office by:

1 July 342

3775

Later career:

346

Riparius. VI 897

#### Flavius Eutrygius

Commenced office after:

5 May 342 P. Harr. 65

Earliest attestation as logistes:

1 July 342

3775

Interim and undated attestations:

17(?) June 343 P. Harr. II 216

Latest attestation as logistes:

24 July 343

Out of office by:

346 or 347 (no

month or day)

P. Harr. II 217

#### Out-of-office references:

I 66. Fl. Eutrygius, ἀπὸ λογιστῶν VIII 1103. Eutrygius, ἀπὸ λογιστῶν

I. F. Fikhman, Le Monde grec.: hommages à Claire Préaux 789, supposes that the plain Eutrygius who appears in I 93 (362), PIFAO II 13, and PSI III 217 may be the ex-logistes, but this is not compelling.

#### Flavius Heraclius

Commenced office after:

24 July 343

Only attestation as logistes:

346 or 347 (no

month or day) P. Harr. II 217

Out-of-office references:

27 July 371

Dead by this date. XLVIII 3395

## APPENDIX II

## THE GUILDS OF OXYRHYNCHUS

Despite the present volume's additions to our documentation, we are a long way from having declarations from all the guilds that must have made them, as a glance at a document such as PUG I 24 quickly makes clear. For a list of guilds and occupations see I. F. Fikhman, Egipet na rubezhe dvukh epokh (Moscow 1965) 25-34, 122-7. It is equally clear that the guilds did not always follow the same order: contrast e.g. LI 3624-6 with I 85 (re-ed. ZPE 39 (1980) 115-23). Nevertheless we now have several part-sequences and some overlaps and repeated sequences, and with the help of 3765 most of the declaring guilds can be put into a tentative order (which does not reflect that of the Edictum de Pretiis), although there are breaks in it (where we cannot yet calculate the number of intervening guilds) and other uncertainties such as those due to fragmentary declarations at the beginning or end of a sequence. It must also be admitted that the part-sequences we have may not come from the same overall sequence; indeed some of the part-sequences (e.g. the first two sections below) are incompatible. Some guilds appear in different positions in the tentative composite sequence I have constructed below; both occurrences are listed, with the second one bracketed.

χρυςοχόοι ἀργυροκόποι ἀρτοκόποι ταρςικάριοι	<b>3765</b> vii	3768	3624 3625 3626		
<u></u>					
5		$85^1$			
χαλκοκολληταί		,,			
$(lpha  ho  au \circ \kappa \circ \pi \circ \iota)$		,,			
ζυθοπῶλαι		,,			
 κεμιοπῶλαι		3737		3755	3744
<i>ἐλαιουργοί</i>		3738	3760		
ἀρτυματοπῶλαι	3765 i 1-2	3739	3761		
κάπηλοι	,, 3-4	3740	3762		
?	,, 5-7		3763		
 ἐκδοχεῖc	3772 <sup>2</sup>				
ἐλαιοπῶλαι			$85^{3}$		
μελιςςουργοί		3747	,,		

			<b>3776</b>	3743
? βαφεῖς ?5	3765 iii 16-17 ,, 18-23		73 <sup>i4</sup> ii iii	
butchers of some kind?	<b>3765</b> iv 24–30			
χοιρομάγειροι ἰχθυοπῶλαι κναφεῖς κεραμεῖς μυροπῶλαι	<b>3765</b> v 32-40 <sup>7</sup>	3766 ,,	PSI III 202 ,,	<b>?</b> 6
?	<b>3765</b> vi 41-7			

The following additional sequence is necessarily incompatible with the above:

```
? 3732 (\mu\nu\rho\sigma\pi\hat{\omega}\lambda\alpha\iota) 3733 (\hat{a}\lambda\sigma\pi\hat{\omega}\lambda\alpha\iota) 3734 ? 3735 (a declaration in two columns)
```

We have effectively 'singleton' declarations from the following guilds (in alphabetical order) for which we also lack parallel guiding information, so that we have no clue to their place in any sequence of this sort:

ὀρβιοπῶλαι	3745
ύελουργοί	3742

In the next Appendix on commodity-prices the guilds are listed in the sequence proposed here; the  $\dot{\nu}\epsilon\lambda\sigma\nu\rho\gamma\sigma\dot{\nu}$  (no prices survive for the  $\dot{\delta}\rho\beta\iota\sigma\pi\hat{\omega}\lambda\alpha\iota$ ) are tacked on at the end. For the  $\phi\alpha\kappa\sigma\pi\hat{\omega}\lambda\alpha\iota$ , not attested as such by a declaration and also tacked on at the end of the list, see note 35 to Appendix III.

Notes to Appendix II

- <sup>1</sup> The placing of this group here is somewhat arbitrary. The other sections are held together by the framework of 3765. I place the 85 guilds near the beginning on the uncertain grounds that metals and basic commodities come early in the sequence.
  - <sup>2</sup> It is not certain that the  $\epsilon \kappa \delta o \chi \epsilon \hat{\iota} c$  immediately precede the  $\epsilon \lambda a \iota o \pi \hat{\omega} \lambda a \iota$  and ff.; see 3772 introd.

    <sup>3</sup> For the splitting of the sections of I 85, see the re-edition of that papyrus in ZPE 39 (1980) 115 ff.

4 See the re-edition of P. Harr. 73 in ZPE 37 (1980) 229-36.

<sup>5</sup> Might the guild here be the  $ca\gamma\mu a\tau o\rho \acute{a}\phi o\iota$  (for whom see Rech. Pap. 4 (1967) 82 n.) who follow the  $βa\phi είc$  in PUG I 24? Probably this is to put far too much weight on PUG I 24's list, since the  $βa\phi είc$  there are preceded (in reverse order) by the κναφείc, ταρcικάριοι, and λευκανταί, all of whom are established in different positions in the sequence above.

6 See ZPE 37 (1980) 230 and n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Seventeen more items would have followed, drawn from the declaration of the  $\mu\nu\rho\sigma$ πωλαι. There can have been very few intervening items (and therefore even fewer guilds) before those preserved in ll. 41 ff. at the top of the next column.

## APPENDIX III

## COMPARATIVE COMMODITY PRICES

Commentary on the prices of the items declared by the guilds, in so far as they survive, has been reserved for this section from the notes on the individual texts above. The guilds are arranged in their projected order (see the preceding Appendix) rather than alphabetically, and the items declared follow the same order as in the declarations. Guilds for which no prices survive have been omitted; guilds with two positions in the sequence are given in the earlier position. I tabulate prices to cover the period from the Edictum de Pretiis (Nov./Dec. 301) until our latest declarations in 359, LI 3624-6. Only prices derived directly or less directly (3765, 3773) from guild declarations are included; I use the previously published declarations (XXXI 2570 = 3766, P. Harr. 73, I 85, PSI III 202, and LI 3624-6) as well as those in the present volume. This concentration on a single category of document avoids the problems of evaluating diverse evidence, e.g. the prices for (Tyrian) *cτι*χάρια in **3758** (see 21 n.) and especially the confrontation between open market prices and government refund levels. Prices are given throughout in talents (T) and denarii (d.). For consistent comparative purposes the solidus is understood throughout as  $=\frac{1}{72}$  of a lb. of gold; I have recalculated values for the pre-Constantinian aureus ( $=\frac{1}{60}$  lb. of gold) in terms of the later coin.

With each commodity for which the evidence admits it, I have calculated an annual compound inflation percentage for the period between the earliest and latest recorded prices. In most instances we have but one price for a commodity in a year, but the price fluctuations attested by 3773 show how unreliable these inflation percentages may be. Furthermore the pace of inflation was more irregular than is implied by my annual percentage figures. R. S. Bagnall, Currency and Inflation in Fourth-century Egypt (BASP suppl. 5 (1985))<sup>1</sup> explains 'inflation' in this period as due to the fluctuating but

3

generally diminishing silver content of the coins in circulation, and analyses the changes not as gradual but as coming in stages, in line with the monetary changes. Nevertheless, in terms of the tariffed values of the coins, the inflation was real enough (so Bagnall, op. cit. 54-5). The percentages are given in two columns at the right edge of the table below: (A) covering the span from the Edict till our latest evidence, and (B) covering such spans as are available with the Edict's evidence excluded. I provide these latter figures to meet the comment of R. P. Duncan-Jones, The Economy of the Roman Empire (2nd edn., 1982) 367, that the Edict's prices are likely to be at least in part theoretical prices and not true market-prices.2 These figures, totalled and divided by the number of the samples, provide averages of 13.91% including the Edict's evidence (column A, thus over the period 301-59) or 18.97% without the Edict's evidence (column B, effectively for the period from c. 310-11 till 359). These figures may be expected to correspond to the reduction in the silver content of the coinage; and, satisfyingly, I calculate the reduction from the 25 den. coin of 301 (Bagnall, Currency 30-1) to the introduction of the coin with 30 mg of silver in the early 350s (ibid. 44-5; also J.-M. Carrié, Aeg. 64 (1984) 224) as an annual decrease of approximately 13.75%. The discrepancy between my column A and column B figures needs some explanation. First, I have generally chosen the Edict's highest prices (cf. n. 4 below), while the goods listed in the Edict are often of a higher quality anyway than what was available locally in Oxyrhynchus; secondly, the increasing inflation in the later years covered by the samples pushes up the figures in column B, none of which derive from data earlier than c. 310-11. Such validity as these figures may have is of course only in terms of the buying power of talents and denarii; calculated in terms of the gold solidus or any other commodity, the results would be vastly different.3

I should like to thank Mr G. Mazzarino, of the Oxford University Institute of Economics and Statistics, and my father Romney Coles for help with the mathematics in this Appendix.

TABLE 2. Commodity prices c.301 59

idus 1  ou 1 lb.  ou 1 lb.  ππαί 1 art.  χντού 1 lb.  τ 1 art.  πατ.  ματ.  μ	Guild and unit substance	Edictum de Pretiis4 (Nov./Dec. 301)	3731 (c.310-11)	3732-5 3737-40 (312)	<b>3742</b> (317)	3743-4 (318)	<b>3747-53</b> (319)	<b>3760–3</b> (326?)	<b>3765</b> (c.327)	<b>3766</b> (329)	P. Harr. 73 (329 31)	PSI 202 (c.338) <b>85</b> (338)	3773° 3776 (c.340) (343)		3624-6 Annual ini (359)  (A)  Including  Edict	al inflat	Annual inflation (°0,0)  (A) (B)  Edict Edict
1 lb. 4 T.  1 art. 327 d.8  2 xroûlo 1 lb. 60 d.  1 art. 196 d.  1 art. 327 d.  1 art. 327 d.  1 T.  1	idus ibove)	1,000 d.					,				,		190 T.(?) to 243\frac{1}{3} T.6	to	16.33%7		28.07%7
1 art. 327 d.8  1 art. 327 d.8  1 art. 196 d.  1 art. 327 d.  327 d.  327 d.		4 T.											950 T.(?) to 1,213\frac{3}{3} T.	to	45,333‡ T.		22.56°°
1 art. 196 d.  1 art. 196 d.  1 art. 327 d.  327 d.  327 d.												24 T.	40 T. to 50 T.		1,366g T.		21.220,9
1 art. 196 d.  1 art. 327 d.  327 d.  327 d.	λκοκολληταί χαλκοῦ ἐλατοῦ <sup>10</sup> 1 lb. χαλκοῦ χυτοῦ 1 lb.	60 d.				1						63 T.			14.82,0	0,	
1 art. 327 d. ,, 327 d. ,, 327 d. ,,		}										133 T.	15 T. to 25 T.		14.42"		36.93°0°
				1 T. 1 T. 1 T. 750 d. 1,000 d.	1										14.85%	%6	
έλαιουργοί λαχανοςπέρμου 1 art.	τέρμου			2 T. 250	÷			15 T.					45 T. to 80 T.				6%96.6

άρτυματοπώλαι cηςάμου μελανθίου κορίου ξηρού δριγάνου

$\mu$ - $1 \text{ art.}$ ? $\mu$ - $1 \text{ art.}$ $\kappa \nu \dot{n} \kappa o \nu$ $1 \text{ art.}$ ?	.? 490 d.	d.		.T. 4 - c. T c. T c c c c c			13.0800	
φάβατος 1 art. κυμίνου 1 art.	. 327 d. . 655 d.	. d.		6? T. 8 T.	6 T. 8 T.		13.59%	°00 6%0
ίπηλοι οἴνου Όαειτικ. 1 sext. κνιδίου Θηβαικ. ,,		30 d. <sup>11</sup>	75 d. 75 d.	400 d. 375 d.	500 d. 375 d.		11.42%	13.48%
οἴνου Όξυρυγχ.	30	30 d. <sup>11</sup>			375 d.	I T. to		
όξους Όξυρυγχ. "	6 d.				300 d.	1227.12	12008 16.2300	15.71%
μελιτουργοί Β								
Ċ.,				1,150 d.?				
cταγματοπώλαι cτάγματοc I cnid.	ģ.			500 d.				
γαροπώλαι γάρου 1 sext.	t. 16 d.	ļ	:	28 d.			3.10	
άλοπώλαι άλόc I art.		327 d. <sup>13</sup>	250 d.	250 d.			0/0 5-1-	000
έριοπώλαι έρίου λευκ. ἐντοπ. 1 lb.	25	25 d.? <sup>14</sup>		150 d.	,		10.46%	
ιοιοχρωμων και ἄλλων χρωμάτ.  ,,				175 d.				
λευκανταί	15							W-1
λίνων παντ. λευκ. τρυφερού I lb.				1 T. 1 T. 125 d.				000
κοινού ",				100(+) d. 875 d.	1. 			ò
				200 0.	200 000			%0
<i>cτιππίου κεχειρ.</i> <i>τρυφ./èξόχου</i> 1 lb.		24 d. <sup>17</sup>		45º d.	720 d. <sup>18</sup>		13.97%	6.05%
κοινου ,, ὑποδεεςτ. χωρ. ,,	20 d. 16 d.	i ri		162 d. 100 d.	576 d. <sup>18</sup>		13.79%	17.1800

3624-6 Annual inflation  $\binom{0}{0}$ (A) Including Edict 17.650,23 29.31% (359) 200+ T. 200(+?) T. 100 + T. 133\frac{1}{3} T. 400 T. 2663 T. 200 T. 3776 160 T. 120 T. 100 T. (c.340) (343) P. Harr. 73 PSI 202 **3773**<sup>5</sup> (329 31) (c.338) (c.340) 85 (338) [ ]2 T.21 (329) (329 31) 100 T. 80 T. tìo T. 8 T. 10 T. 5 T. 5 T. 7 T. 3766 1 T.+ 1 T.(+?) 40 T. (326?) (c.327) 3743-4 3747-53 3760-3 3765 80 T. 2 T. 8 T. 2 T. (319) (318) 3742 (317) 3731 3732-5 (c.310 11) 3737-40 (312) 3731 (Nov./Dec. 301) Edictum de  $(33\frac{1}{3} T.)^{22}$ 1 ίcτός<sup>19</sup> 4<sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> T. 3 T. 2 T. Pretiis4 1750 d. 1 T. 1 lcróc 3 T. 2 T. 13 T. ι ίςτός Ι ίςτός 80 d.23 I T.20 13 T. I pr. I lb. unit 33 33 ditto, 2nd qu.  $\pi \epsilon \nu \tau \alpha \pi \eta \chi$ .  $\psi \iota \dot{\alpha} \theta$ .  $c \tau \iota \beta$ . ταρς. μεγ. μέτρ. Ist quality 2nd quality коккі́vov 1st qu. 2nd quality πορφ. ἐντοπίου 2nd quality 3rd quality TABLE 2 (cont.) *cανδυκ., χλωρ.,* and quality 3rd quality 3rd quality 3rd quality 1st quality rst quality ἀναβολαδίων καλλ., ευγχρ. бади. управк. *c*τιχαρίων φακιαλίων όθονιοπώλαι Νικαϊνής ροδίνου ριζίνης substance βαφείς

49.53°°° 62.65°°

41.42°°°577% 5.7% 25.74%

Excluding Edict

15.47%

	17.05°0 17.68°0 18.06°0	15:39%	13.37°° 19.58°°		6.36°,	11.76% 13.97% 12.91% 15.31% 22.86%	24.47% 20.55% 19.26% 13.65% 11.11% 17.22% 19.6% 16.5% 11.06% 18.08° 19.16% 18.06° 18.2°
60 T. 40 T. 60 T. 80 T. 300 T.	200 T. 150 T. 100 T. 230 T. 200 T. ? d.?	1 T. goo d. 26	500 d. 12 T.27	500 d.	3 T.	12 T. 2 T. 50 T.	20 T. 4 T. 10 T. 6 T. 6 T. 4 T. 10 T. 8 T. 6 T. 5 T. 7 T.
d qu.  1 pr.  2 .  1 pr.	ίως 5,000 d.; <sup>24</sup> είου 5,000 d. είου 2000 d.	iov 1 lb. 12 d.	τ. 1 lb. 24 d.	вик. 100 lb.	κέρ. c 100 lb. 800 d.²8 cίας ,,	1 lb. 800 d. 1 T. 1 T.  1 lb. 800 d. 200 d. 200 d.  1 T. 2 T.	,, $5 \cos d$ . $125 \circ d$ . ,, $25 \circ d^{30}$ $1 T$ ? ,, $175 \circ d$ . ,, $125 \circ d^{31}$ $1225 \circ d$ ? ,, $120 \circ d$ . $375 \circ d$ . $25 \circ d$ . ,, $120 \circ d$ . $375 \circ d$ . $5 \circ d$ .
ditto, 2nd qu. ἐφιππίων μονανθρώπων ἐπιψελαρίων ?	? θηλίων όμοίως α βόλου τελείας ταύρου τελείου ὑποδεεστέρου κρέως μοςχείου βοός τελείας	Χοιρομάγειροι κρέως χοιρίου	ίχθυοπώλαι ίχθύων παντ.	κναφείς νίτρου Άραβικ.	κεραμείς κερ. κερ. πίςτης ξηρᾶς Cιριτικῆς Τρωαδηςίας	μυροπώλαι πιπέρεως λιβάνου μαλαβάθρου	ττύρακος ὑψηλοῦ ἐλαφροῦ κόττον ματτίχης ἀμώμου βδέλλης κατίας

TABLE 2 (cont.)

Guild and substance	unit E	Edictum de	3731	3732-5	3742 (217)	3743-4	3747-53	3760-3	3765		P. Harr. 73	PSI 202	37735		3624-6	Annual in	Annual inflation (0,0)
		Dec.	(11 016:0)	(312)	r		(318)	(320:)	(237)	(323)	(329-31)	(6.330) <b>85</b> (338)	(6.340)	(343)	(329)	(A) Including Edict	(B) Excluding Edict
μυροπώλαι (cont.) καταμου ψμιτίου cανδυκίου ζμύρνης μοχλω [	1 lb. ", 46" ", 49"	40 d.32 400 d.	375 d.	450 d.					-deo	2 T 2 T 2 T 2 T 2 T 2 T 2 T 2 T 2 T 2 T						19.59%	11.56%
ζυκιπέρεως πατήματος ἀςφαλανθίου ἀρναβωρατίων ςαςέλεως ςφαγνίου		400 d. 25 d. 17[5?] d.33		250 d. 75 d. 150 d. 105 d. 75 d.						1,000 d.						10.5% -1.41%	14.17%
έλενιδίων ἀλκεωτίδων ὀνυχίων ξυλομαςτίχης αλιμαςτου?		25 d. 50 d.		155 d. 175 d. 75 d.(?) 200 d. 75 d.						1,000 d. 1,000 d. 1,000 d.						14.08%	11.8% 10.79% 16.45%?
; ὑποδεεςτ. βοίνης τελείας ὑποδεεςτ. αἰγείου τελείου	24 45	750 d. 400 d. 50 d.							20 T. 20 T. 15 T.							15.24"0 16.76% 20.21%	
υποοεεсτ. προβατείου τελ. ὑποδεεсτ.	36	30 d.							2 T.							19.37%	
ύελουργοί ύέλου	100 lb. 2400 d.	100 d.			4 T.											5-89%	
φακοπώλαι? <sup>35</sup> Ασκοῦ	1101												20 T. to				

### Notes to Appendix III

<sup>1</sup> Bagnall's work was only available to me just as this volume was going to press.

<sup>2</sup> i.e., real prices in terms of denarii in 301 were already higher and the degree of inflation calculated for 301-59 should in reality stretch back over a longer period, thus pulling down the putative annual rate. Duncan-Jones also comments that the Edict does not distinguish between wholesale and retail prices. Given the extent to which the guilds declare the price paid for the raw materials of their trade (cf. LI 3624-6 introd.), their prices are wholesale rather than retail in character so that the retail price and with it the inflation-rate can only have been higher.

<sup>3</sup> For example, 3773 indicates that by c. 340 many items had fallen in price in terms of gold; a solidus would have bought roughly 3 art. of wheat or 5 art. of barley in 301, 5 art. of wheat or 10 art. of barley in c. 340.

<sup>4</sup> Edict prices: where there are several grades potentially relevant to a commodity in this list, the highest

price is given.

<sup>5</sup> 3773 prices: those given are the lowest and highest prices recorded for each commodity during the period covered by the text. Lowest and highest are not necessarily equivalent to earliest and latest. See the table in 3773 introd.

<sup>6</sup> Fractions of one-third and two-thirds are common in the pricing-structure, so that sums such as 266<sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> tal. (3776 18) are not as idiosyncratic as they may at first seem. 243 tal. 500 den. here is one-third of the way from 240 to 250 tal.

 $^{7}$  Calculated on the figure in the table of  $243\frac{1}{3}$  talents, which is not actually the latest figure in 3773 where the price per solidus in fact drops to 240 talents. A similar caution applies to all the other commodities in 3773

(cf. the table in the introd. ad loc.) except silver.

<sup>8</sup> The Edict's price is 100 den, for 1 castrensis modius. For the conversion here and below to artabas (1 artaba = 3.2727 castrenses modii) see R. P. Duncan-Jones, ZPE 21 (1976) 56.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. n. 7 above.

10 For χαλκοῦ ἐλατοῦ see E. J. Doyle, Hesp. 45 (1976) 97. The commentary there on I 85 is erroneous: see the revised text of that papyrus by R. A. Coles in ZPE 39 (1980) 117.

The Edict's price-list does not include Oxyrhynchite or Oasitic wine; its grades range in price from 30 den. down to 8 den. the sextarius, M. Giacchero, Edictum Diocletiani 140 1. There is a brief list of Egyptian wine-prices and references in CPR VI p. 65; for the fourth century, Bagnall, Currency 66.

12 Note that the type of wine is not specified in 3773; this may therefore not be the strictly correct guild

under which to place the 3773 prices.

13 The Edict's price is 100 den. for a castrensis modius (for the conversion see n. 8). The maintained drop in

price evidenced by the papyri is surprising.

The Edict (§ 25 in both Giacchero and Lauffer) lists several prices for wool, reaching 400 den./lb. (this is for *lana marina*, see Lauffer's commentary (p. 264) on § 19. 14 of the Edict). The specific varieties of wool listed seem inappropriate so that the cheapest grade (§ 25. 9) seems the best parallel.

15 The Edict's section  $\pi\epsilon\rho$ ì λίνου is § 26 in both Lauffer and Giacchero. The prices there (revised ZPE 34 (1979) 168) range from 1,200 down to 72 den./lb., in part exceeding papyrologically attested prices of nearly twenty years later. Because of the uncertainty over the way in which the declaration of λίνων  $\pi$ αντοίων λευκῶν by λευκανταί (prima facie a service industry, not a retail trade) is to be understood, I do not tabulate the Edict's prices above or use them in calculations regarding inflation.

The price of 500 den./lb. in c. 327 is based on the assumption that 3765 9-11 record the same items as 3753 17-19 and therefore that 3765 8 may record the same item as 3752 19; nevertheless the unchanged price

after eight years or so must cast doubt on the identification.

17 The prices for the three grades are those given in §26. 1a-3 of the Edict (ed. Giacchero), assuming equivalence of *cτιππίου κεχειρικμένου* here and *λίνου τοῦ καλουμένου cτουπίου* in the Edict.

18 These are not the prices as given in 3765, which lists a 5-mina bundle at 2½ tal. for the best grade and 2

tal. for the ordinary grade. For the conversion (5 minas = 5.20833 lb.) see 3765 9-11 n.

19 For the  $ic\tau \acute{o}c/tela$  (translated '1 piece' by M. H. Crawford and J. M. Reynolds, ZPE 34 (1979) 195) see S. Lauffer, Diokletians Preisedikt 273; LI 3626 16–17n. No conversion to the  $\zeta \acute{e}v \acute{v}oc$ -based prices of the papyri has been attempted, and the Edict's prices have not been used to obtain an inflation figure.

The Nicaean variety of purple, at 1 tal./lb., is one of the cheaper varieties in the Price Edict (§ 24. 8 ed. Giacchero), although the price relates not to the dyestuff but to the cost of a pound of wool dyed with it; so that

it may be unfair to compare this price with the 80 tal. for 1 lb. of the dyestuff itself (presumably) evidenced by 3765 16. Nevertheless, 'cheaper' variety though the Nicaean might be, its price of 80 tal. is instructive for the quality of the local product (πορφύρας ἐντοπίου, 3765 18) which is only 2 tal./lb. at the same date.

<sup>21</sup> For this figure see 3765 introd.

<sup>22</sup> This is the highest figure for πορφύρα in the Edict and it relates not to the substance but to the price of a pound of wool dyed with it. The much lower prices thirty years later in the papyri will surely relate to a cheap local substitute, as ἐντοπίου implies. I have therefore not taken account of the Edict's price(s) in assessing the inflation-factor.

<sup>23</sup> ροδίνου: listed by the Edict (ed. Giacchero, § 34. 43-4) under the heading  $De\ plantis/\pi\epsilon\rho \ i$  φύλλων; this is likely to be a different substance from the dyestuff listed in our two papyri, despite the identical nomenclature, see S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt* 287. The Edict's price ought perhaps therefore to be discounted in calculating inflation-rates.

For the proposed identification of the animal here with the female donkey of the Price Edict (§ 30. 13 ed. Giacchero) cf. 3765 24 6 n. There is some uncertainty over the Edict's price, cf. ZPE 34 (1979) 178.

This is the Edict's price for  $\kappa\rho\epsilon\omega c \beta o\epsilon iov$ , § 4.2 ed. Lauffer or Giacchero, and therefore perhaps not an exact parallel; in any case damage to the price in 3765 29 prevents comparison.

<sup>26</sup> For the price see ZPE 39 (1980) 125.

<sup>27</sup> For the price c. 338 see ZPE 39 (1980) 125.

<sup>28</sup> The Edict (ed. Giacchero, § 33. 7) gives 8 den./lb. as the price of πίστης εκληρᾶς = picis durae. For the equivalence of εκληρᾶς: ξηρᾶς cf. S. Lauffer, Diokletians Preisedikt 283.

<sup>29</sup> On the price see **3733** 12 n.

30 For the price see M. H. Crawford and J. M. Reynolds, ZPE 34 (1979) 181.

<sup>31</sup> For the price see *ZPE* 34 (1979) 182.

The price is given on the basis that  $cav\delta v\kappa iov =$  the Edict's sandugos (§34. 79 Giacchero): see ZPE 34 (1979) 209 (sandugos in 1, 78 in the text as edited here).

33 For the substance and price see ZPE 34 (1979) 183.

34 On this price note 3733 23 n.

<sup>35</sup> Not attested in our declarations, and therefore not included among the guilds arranged in the preceding Appendix. Conversely, none of our surviving declarations declare the price of lentils so as otherwise to identify the guild indirectly attested by the data in 3773.

#### APPENDIX IV

### SCRIBES AND SUBSCRIBERS

In ZPE 37 (1980) 230 I briefly discussed the phenomenon of the scribe in the logistes' bureau (in that case Aurelius Leontius, from P. Harr. 73) who was commissioned by the guilds' representatives to subscribe for them. Another such is Theon (I 85, PSI III 202), see ZPE 39 (1980) 121, 124.  $$i\pi o\gamma \rho a\phi \epsilon \hat{\iota} c$  of this type are discussed by H. C. Youtie, ZPE 17 (1975) 216–18. The new texts in this volume enable us to recognize more such scribes.

Aurelius Theon in 3761 (?326) may be the same as the Theon just mentioned (338).

Only one subscription survives for Aurelius Nilus, as is the case for others (Aurelius Dionysius, 3760; Aurelius Pathermouthis, 3742), but in Nilus' case there is other proof that he was a scribe in the logistes' bureau, cf. 3733 introd.

Aurelius Sarmates in 3737, put forward as a possible scribe in the bureau in the introduction to that text, will perhaps not be identical with his namesake in 3752 of nearly seven years later.

Finally there is Aurelius Horion, whose distinctive hand is widely found in subscriptions and elsewhere in several texts over a long period, from 312 to 329; he wrote the subscriptions in 3740 and possibly also 3739 (312), 3743 probably (the name is lost) of 318, 3748, 3749, and 3750 (all 319), possibly 3762 (?326), and 3766 iii-iv (329). The writing of 3762 is rather more cursive and flamboyant than the earlier examples, but there are nevertheless some particular resemblances and his continued activity in 329 can also argue for the identity. The tiny scrap P. Harr. inv. 190c (ZPE 37 (1980) 239) may also bear his hand.



## INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. An asterisk shows that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in LSJ or Supplement. Square brackets indicate that a word is substantially restored, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or symbol. The article and (in the documentary texts) καί are not indexed.

#### I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

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 $T \hat{v} \hat{\rho} i$  67 1 73 24  $\Phi a \mu \epsilon \nu \dot{\omega} \theta$  28 9 46 13, 38, 63 48 16-17 49 16 50 15 51 18 52 20 53 21 57 1 58 3?, 39, 78, [98], 134, 151, 156, 181 69 2 70 19 73 40  $\Phi a \rho \mu o \hat{v} \theta i$  73 48  $\Phi a \hat{\omega} \phi i$  59 1, 42 66 28, 55, [78] 73 [6], 87  $X o i \dot{\omega} \kappa$  64 24 73 21

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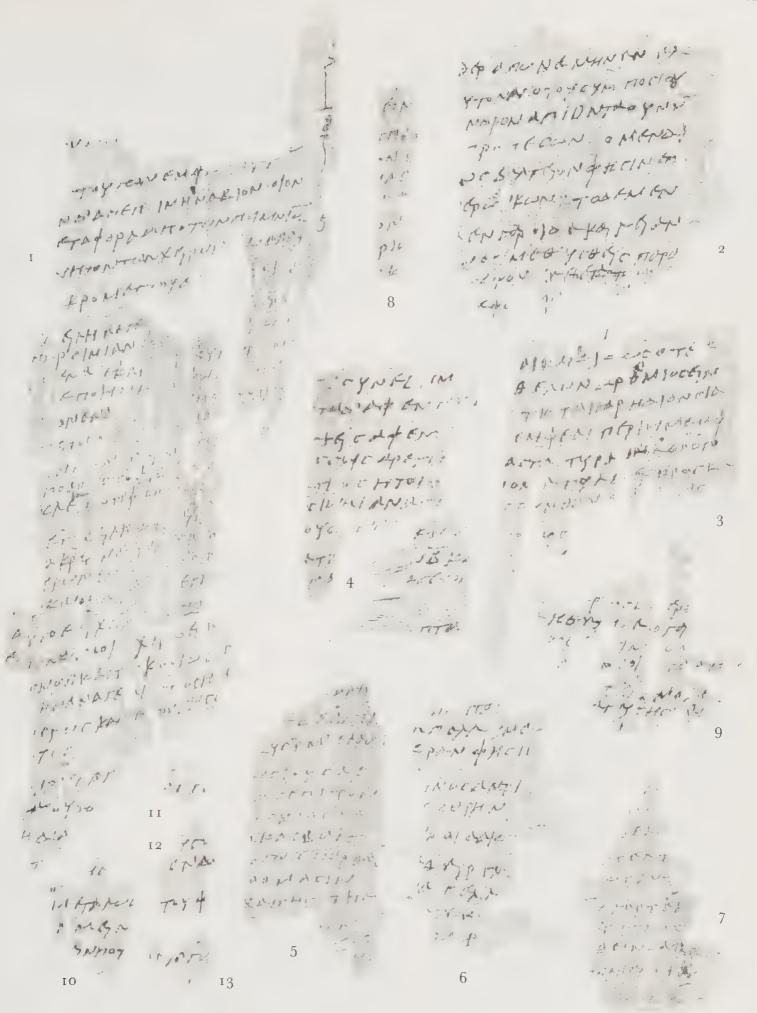
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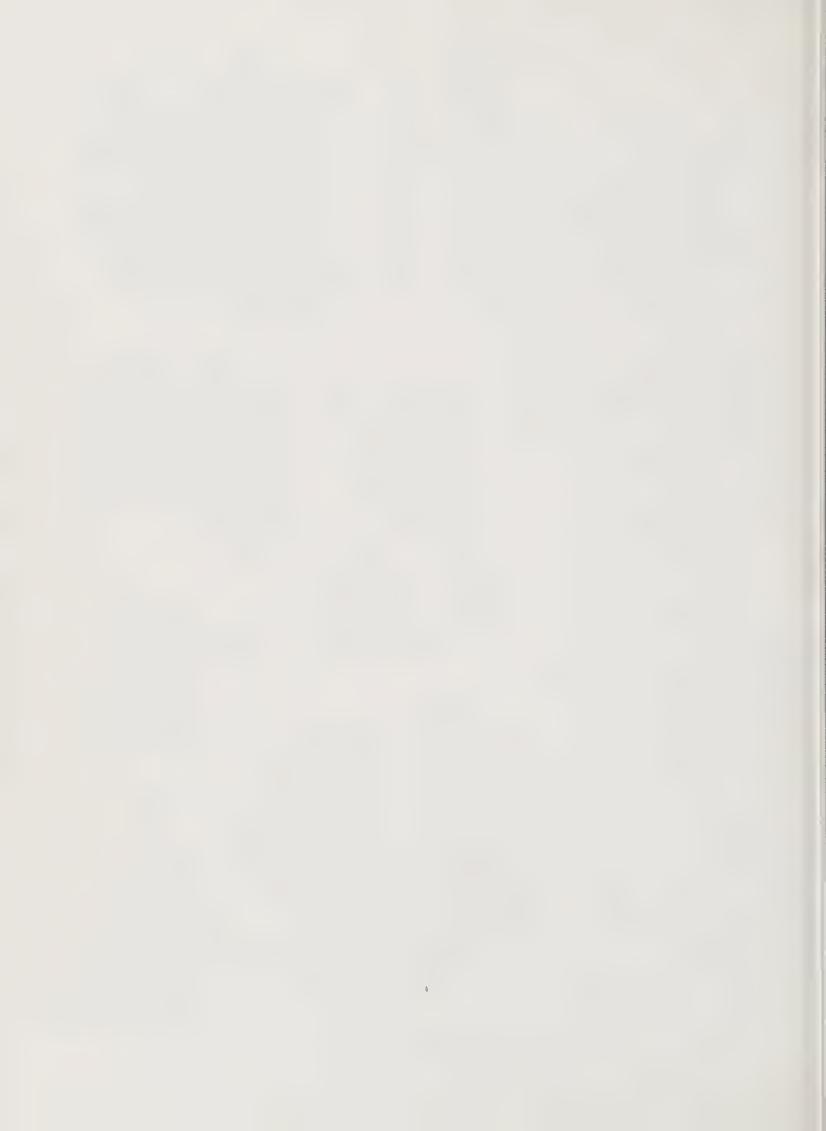
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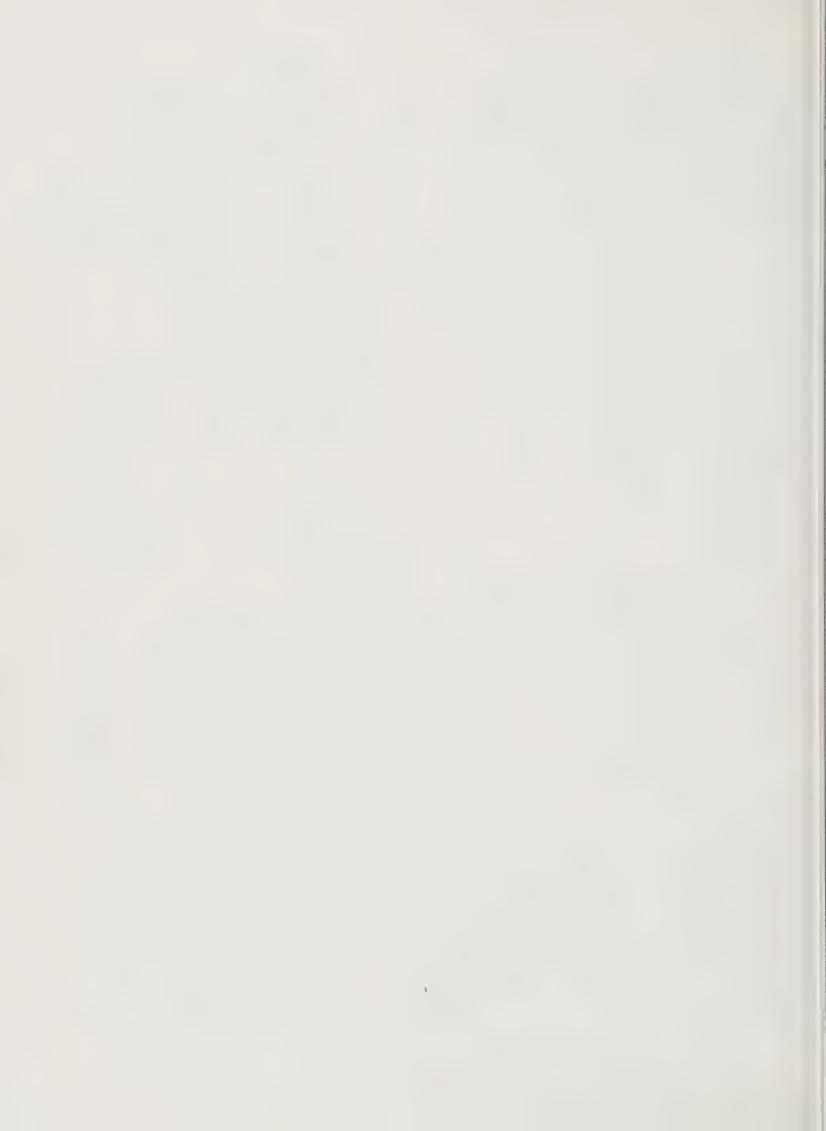
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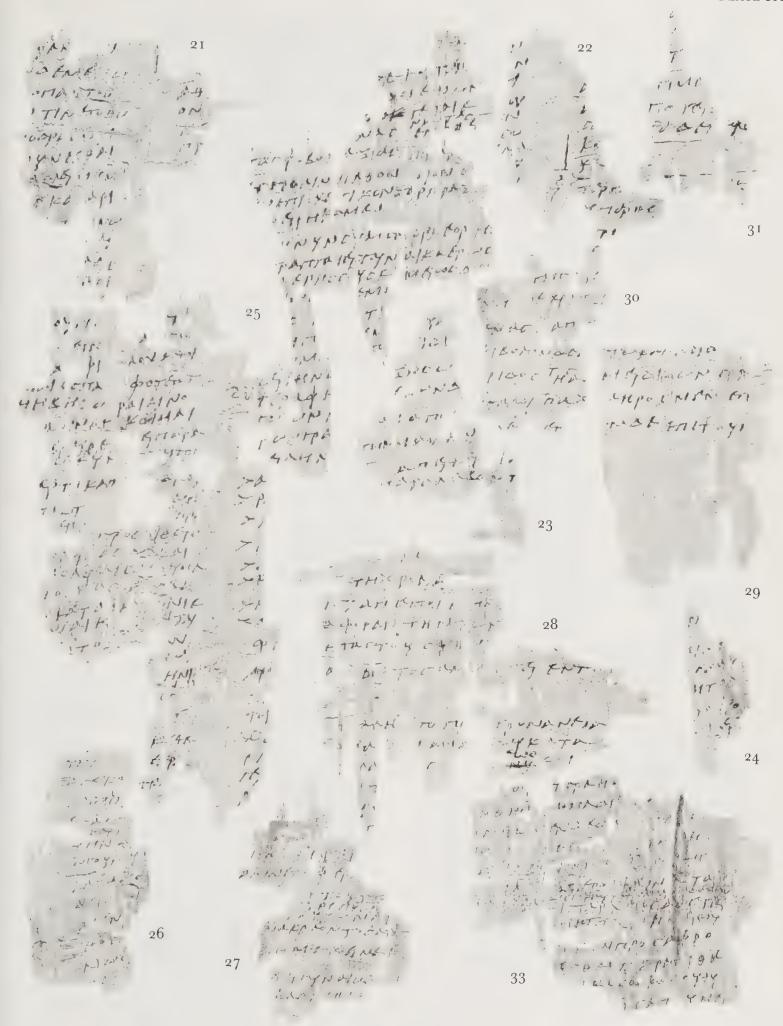


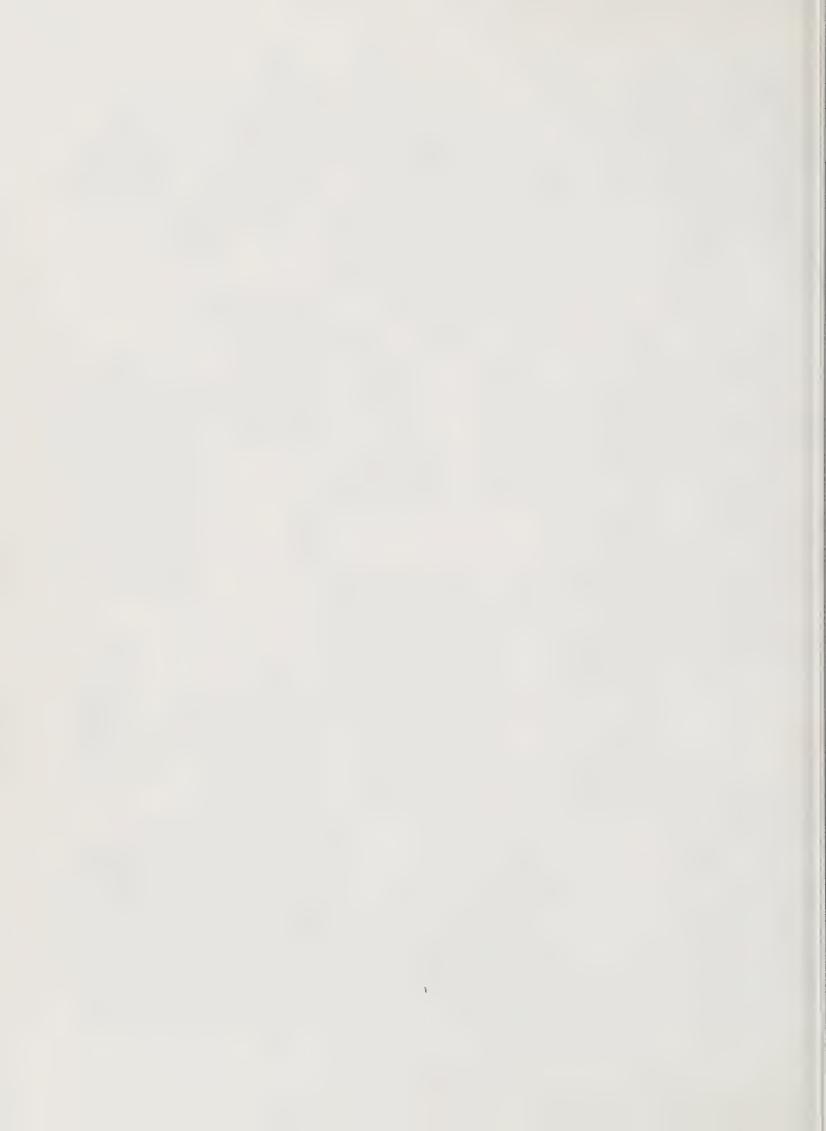


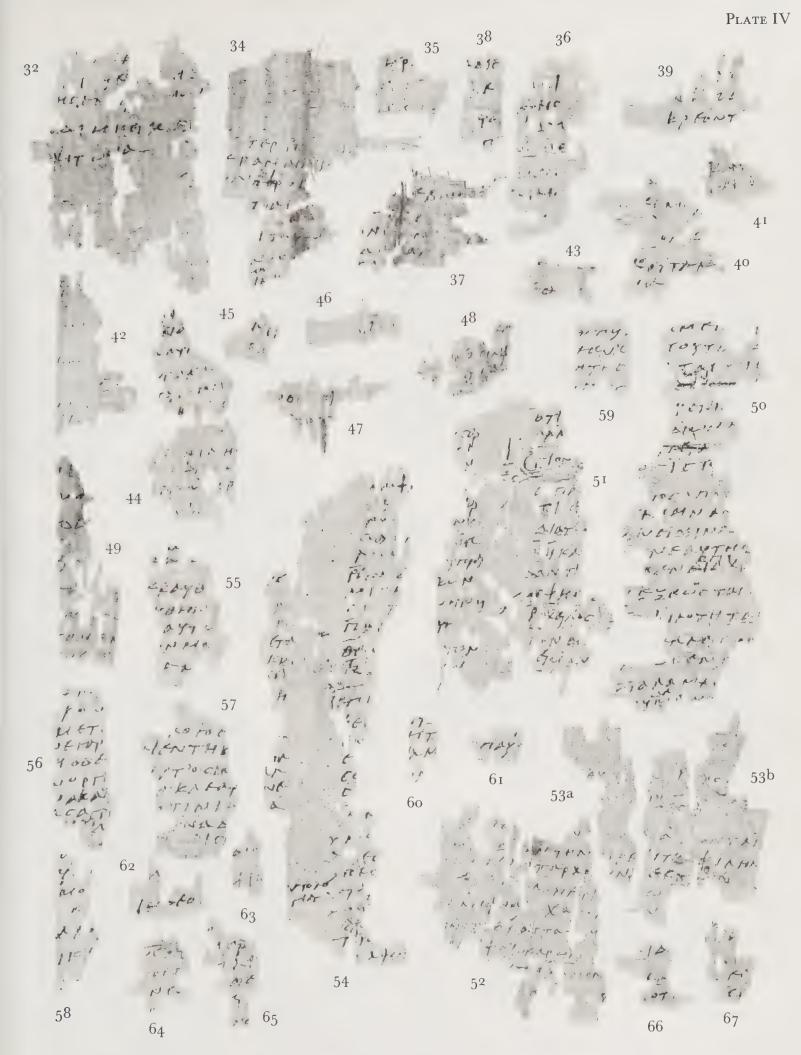


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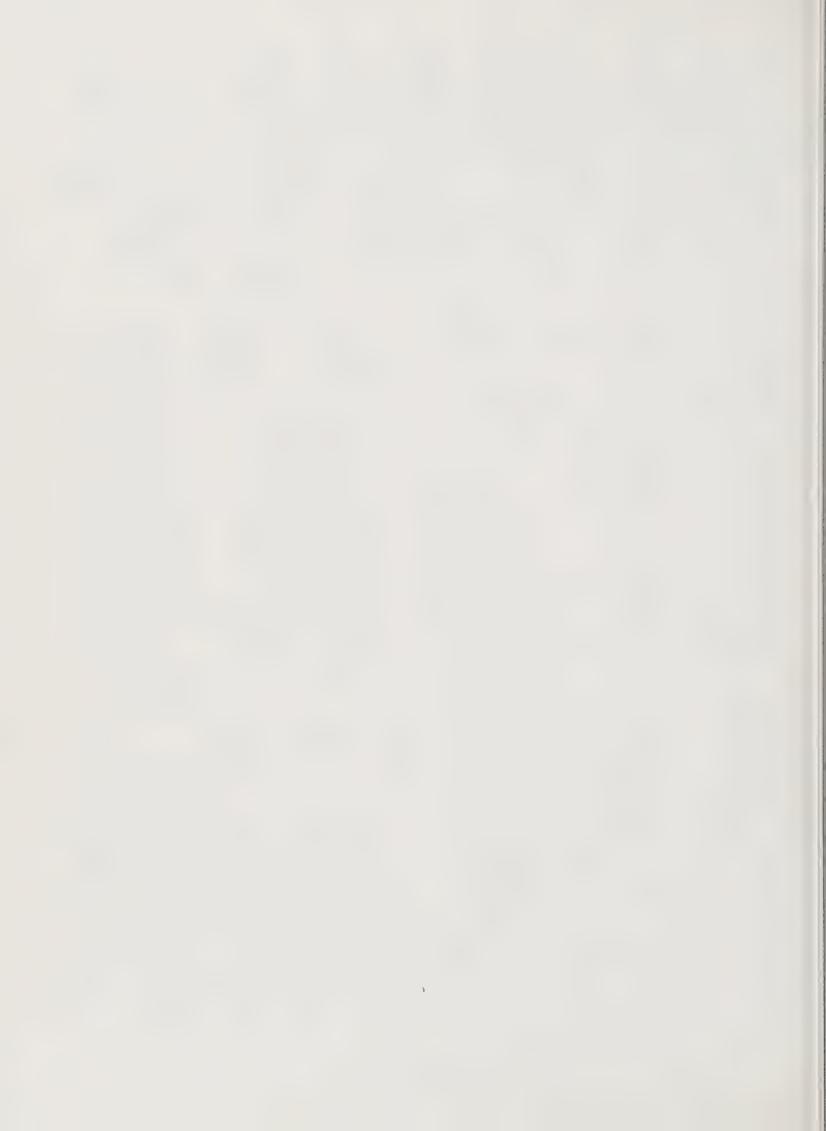


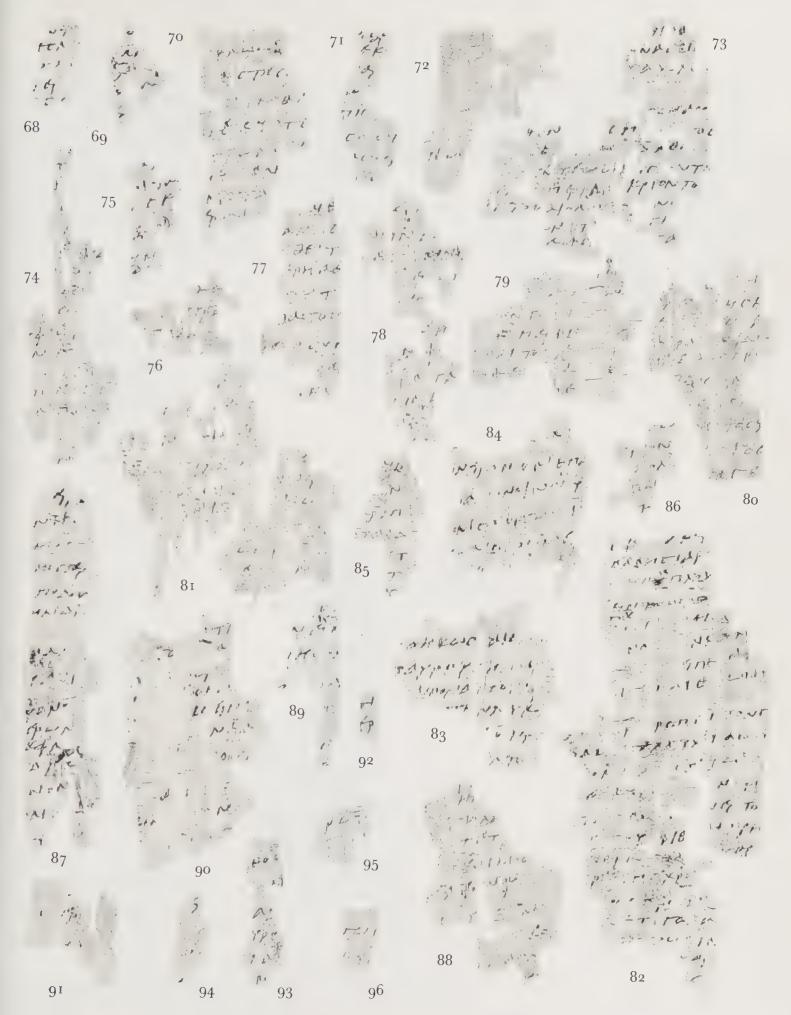






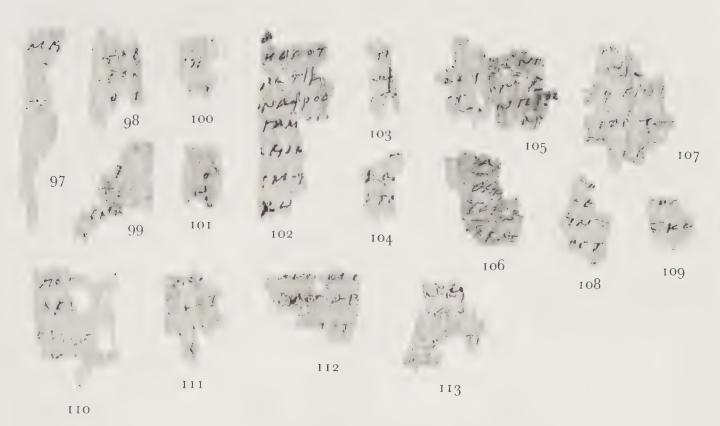
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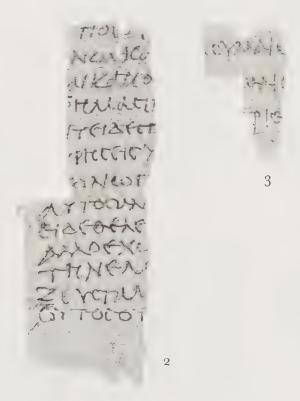


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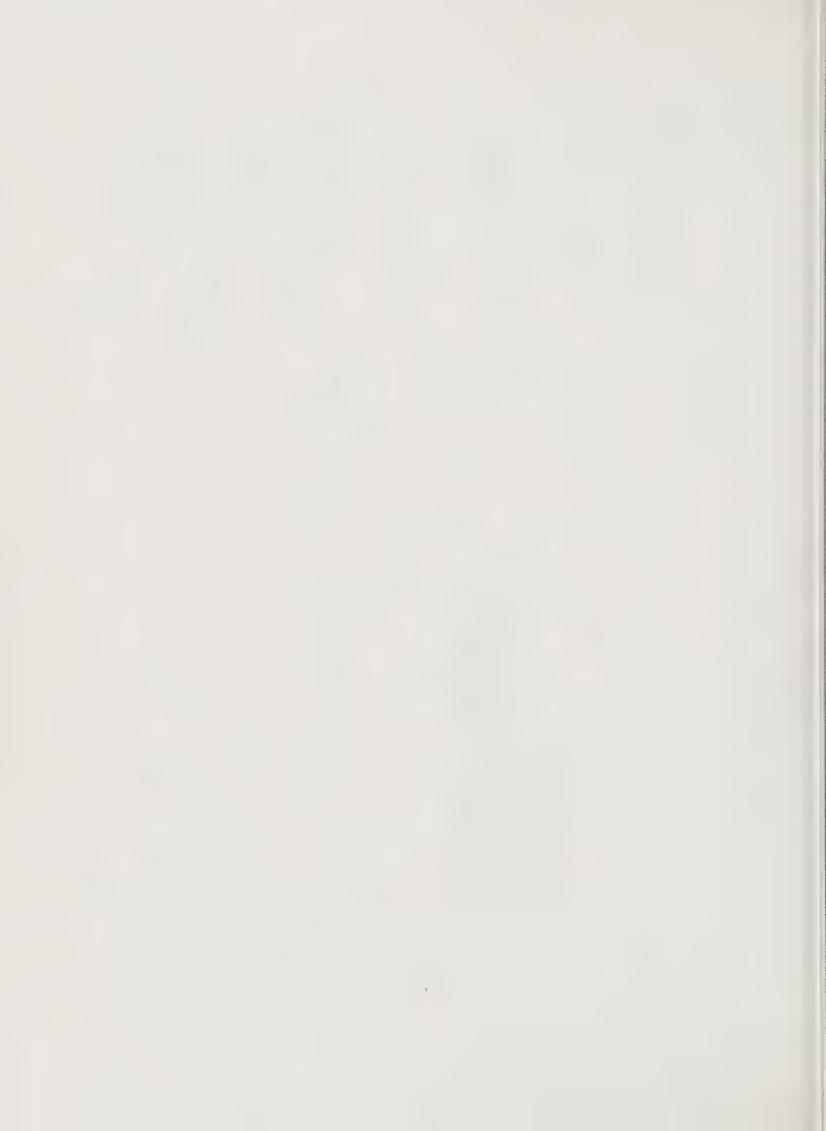




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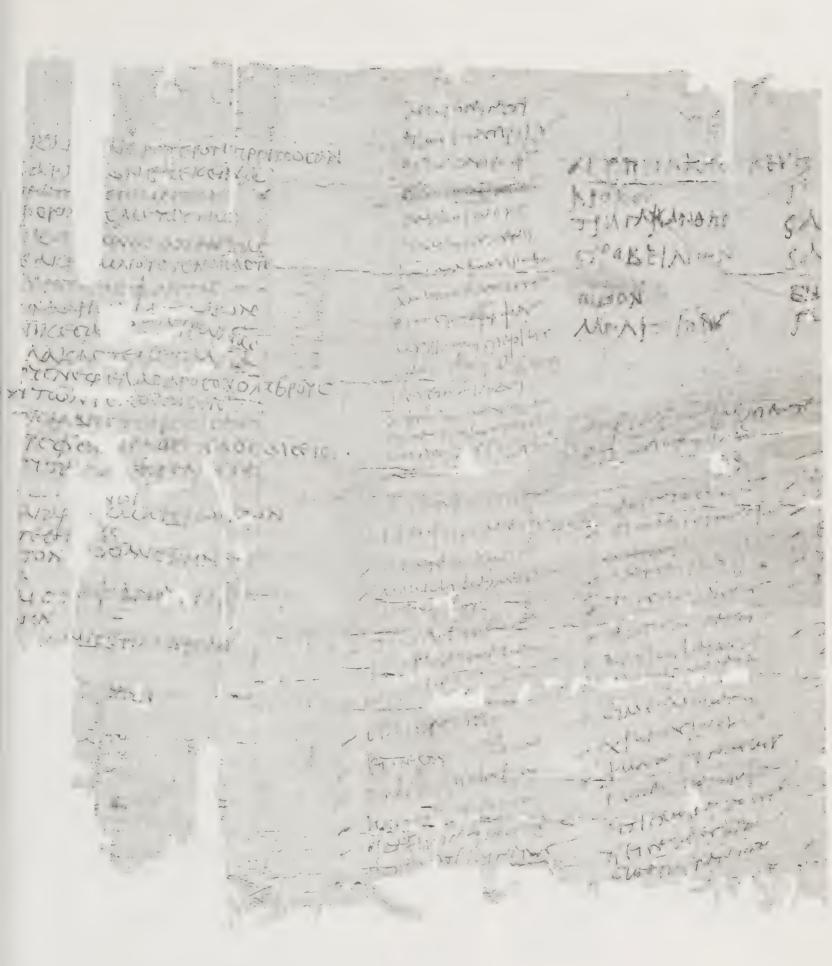
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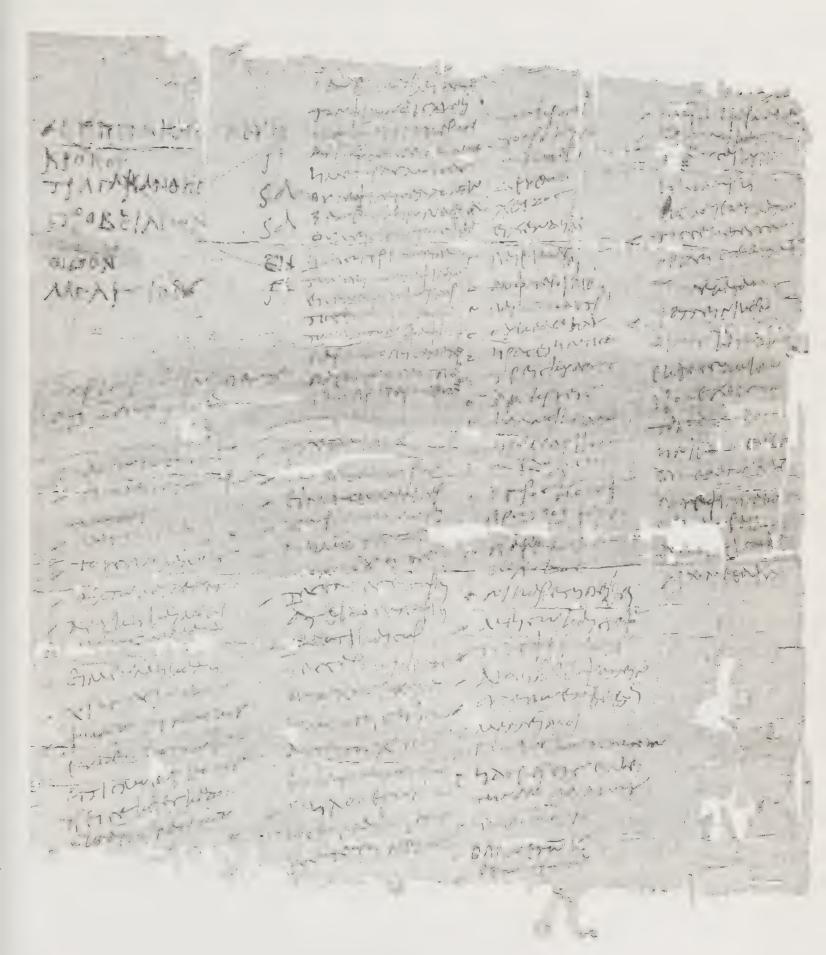
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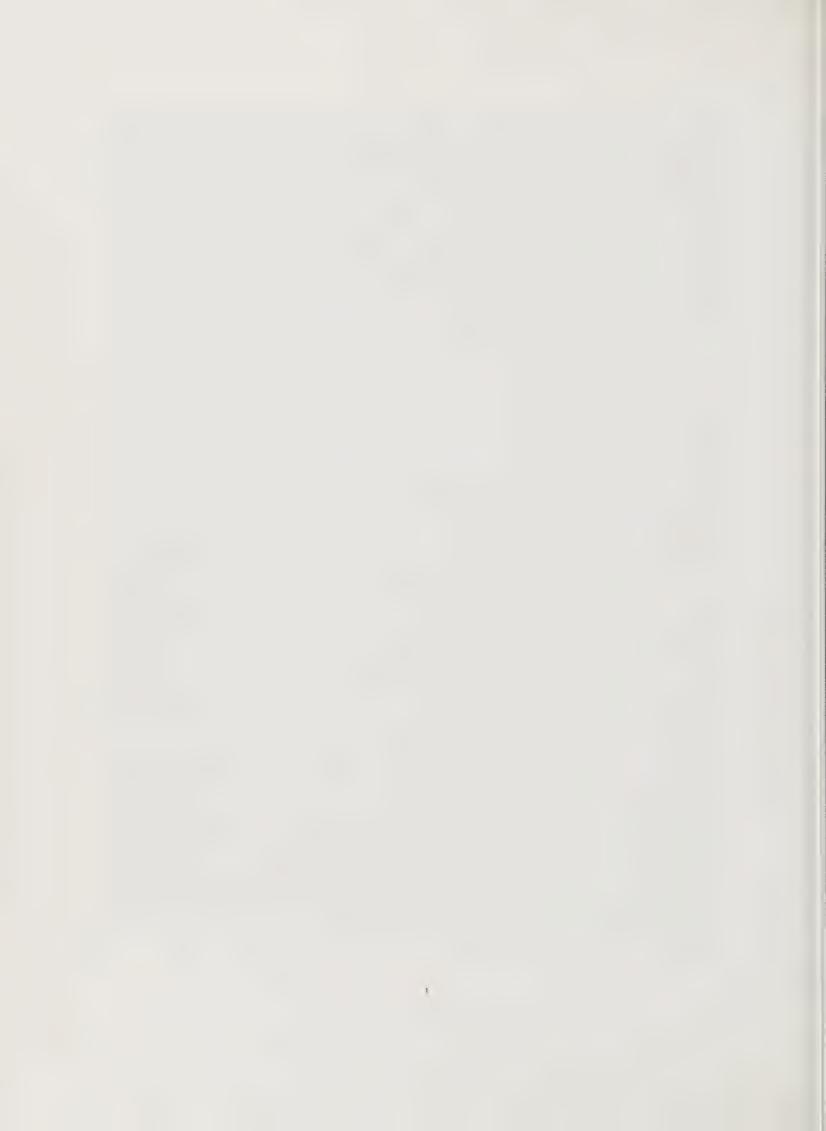


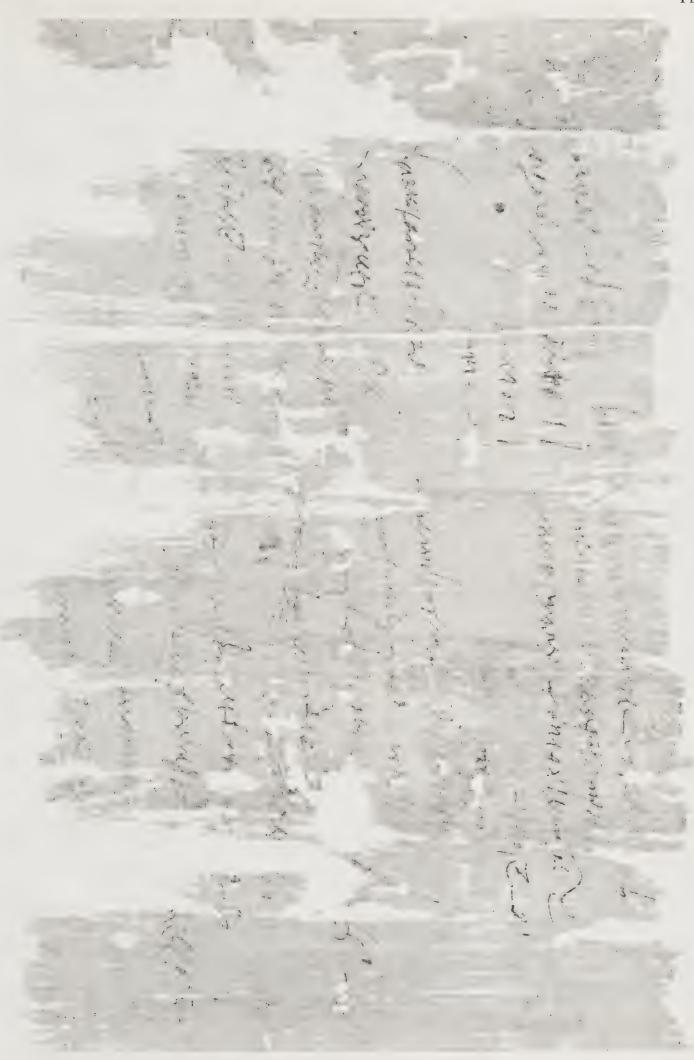
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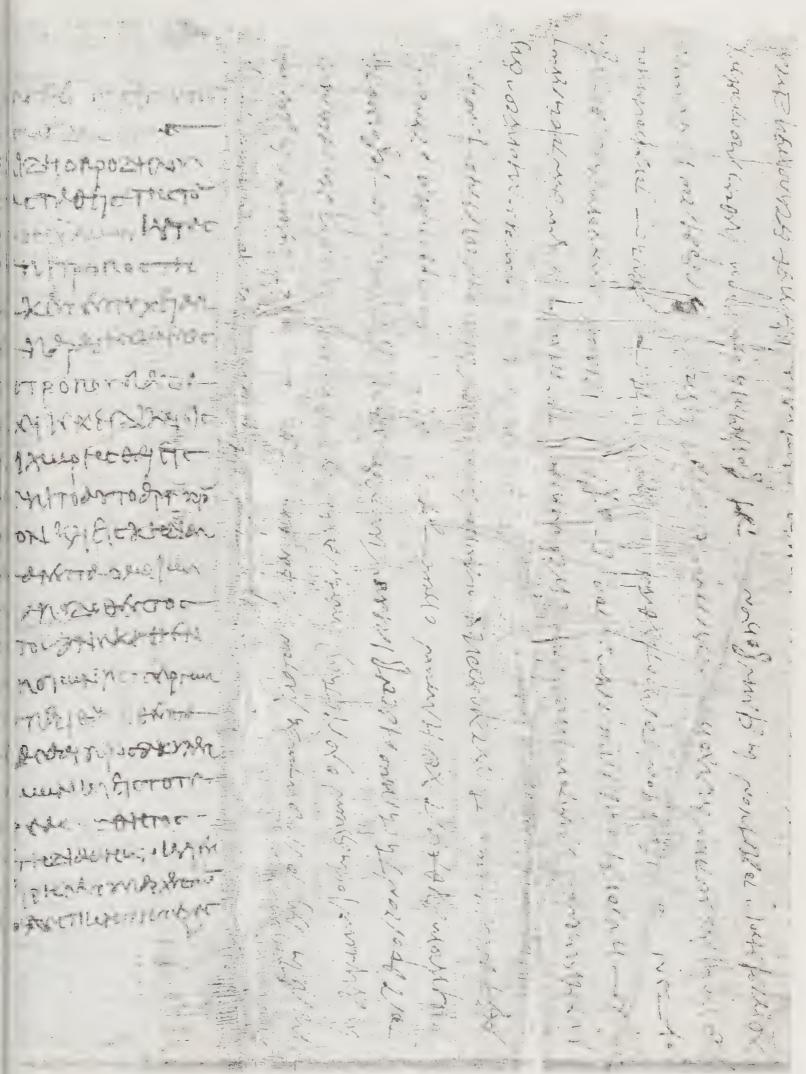




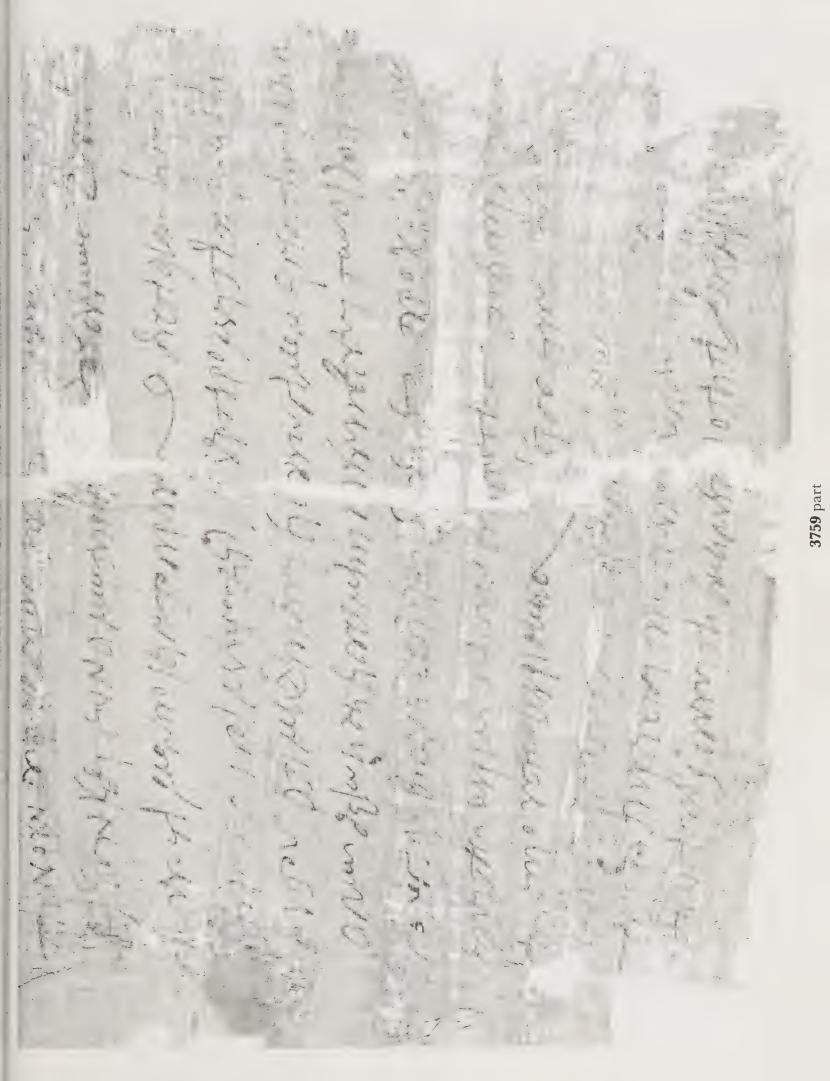


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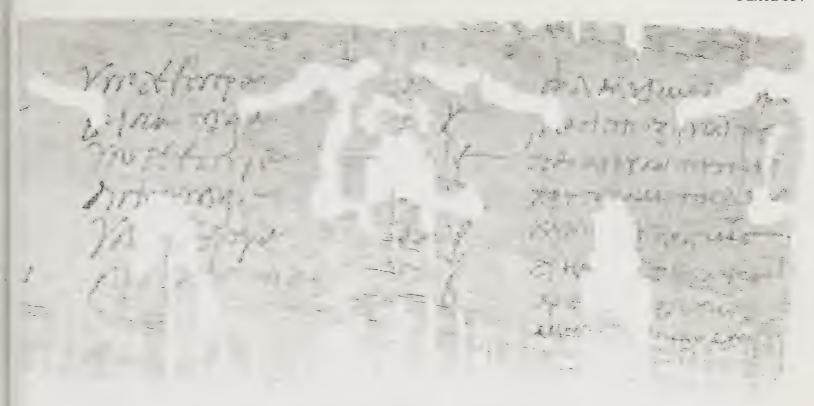




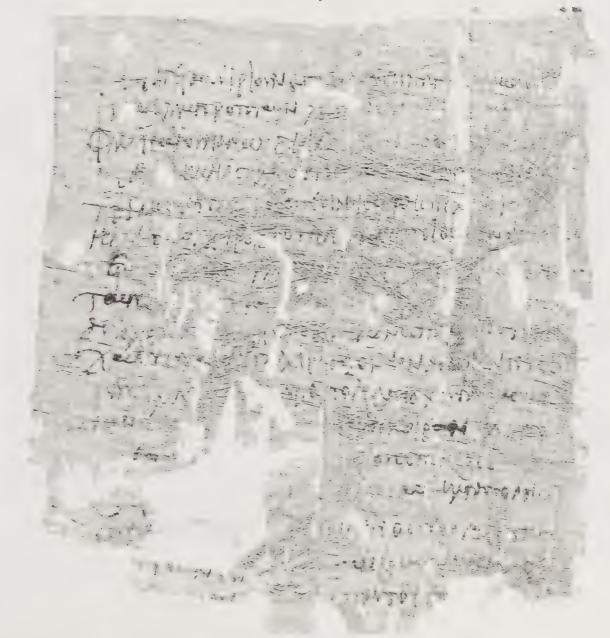




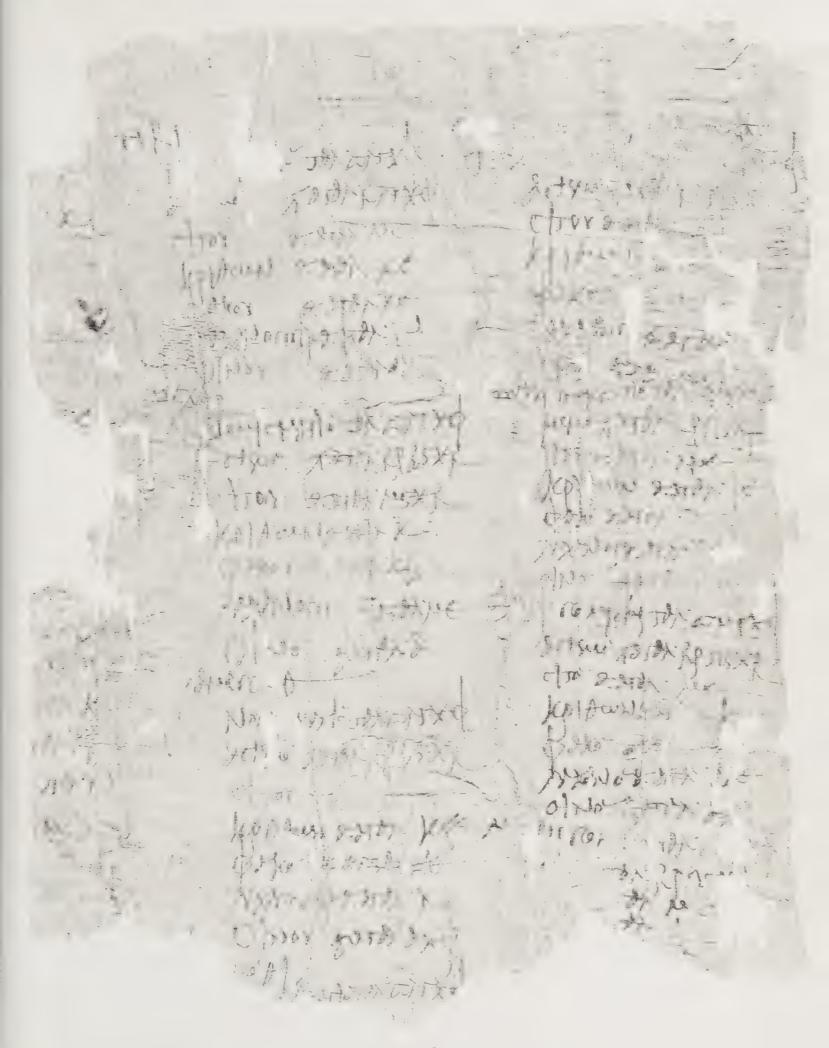




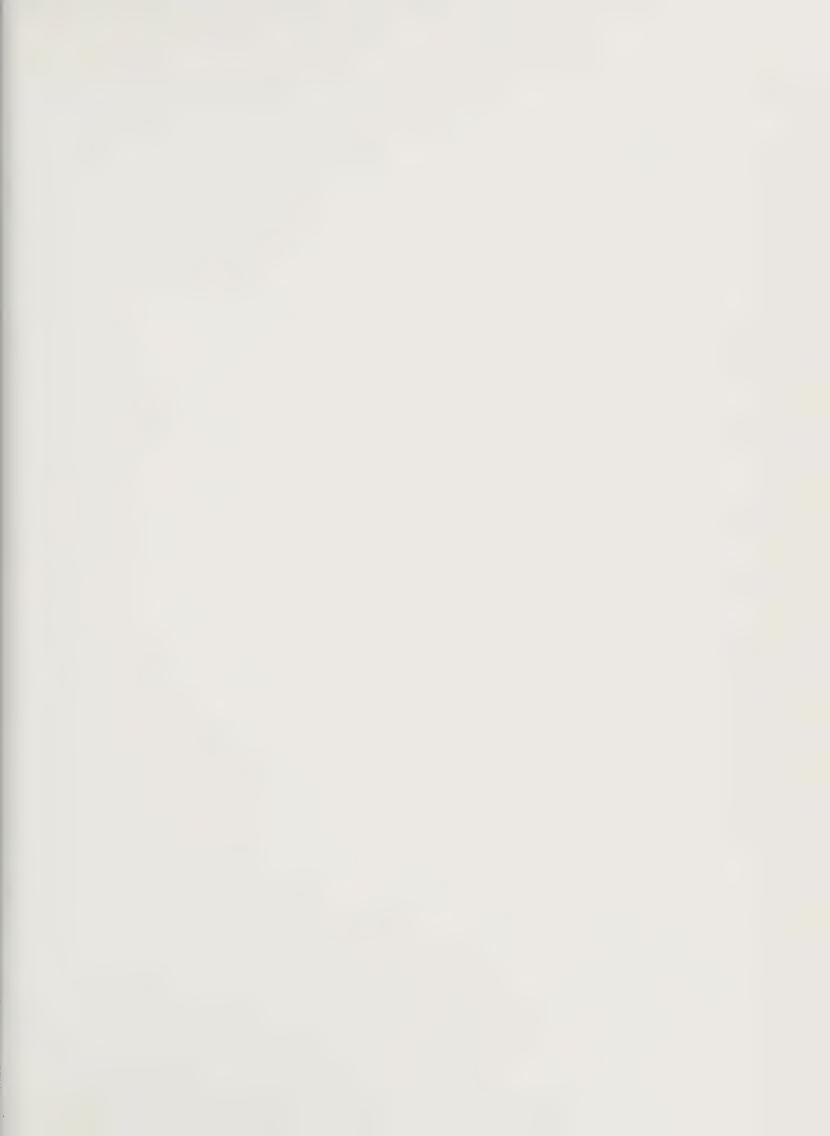
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